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HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS.

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HISTORY
OF THE
MACDONALDS
AND
LORDS OF THE ISLES;

WITH
GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF THE NAME.

BY
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LANDS"; "THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES," ETC., ETC.

PER MARE PER TERRAS.

Terra Marigae

INVERNESS: A. & W. MACKENZIE.

MDCCCLXXXI.



PREFACE.

This volume, the second of an intended series of Clan Histories, has proved a stiff piece of work. At first the leading Macdonalds held aloof, thinking naturally enough, perhaps, that no member of another clan could do justice to a history of theirs. As the work progressed, however, I received the most ample and gratifying testimony that any such feeling was rapidly giving place to one of very general confidence in my desire to be impartial.

It would be difficult for a Macdonald to write with a strictly unbiassed mind of the claims variously made to the Chiefship of his clan by the heads of at least three of its leading families. The ancient patriarchal feeling would, it is feared, assert itself, and influence the historic conscience of a clansman in favour of his own immediate Chief's claim to that high and enviable honour. It is just possible that this feeling may influence the clan verdict as to the strict impartiality of the present performance. In that case I am willing to leave its final determination with the general reader.

It is impossible that a work of such difficulty can be free from errors; but they will not be found of any great importance.

I am indebted to Miss J. Macdonald of Dalchosnie; Lachlan Macdonald, Esq. of Skaebost; the Rev. Donald Macdonald, Glenfinnan; and a few others, for valuable Genealogical notes.

I would like to have added an Index, but as each family is dealt with chronologically, this is the less necessary. A complete Index, where so many names would have to be included, would involve an amount of labour and space which it is impossible to devote to it. There is, however, a very full Table of Contents given, which it is hoped will satisfy most readers.

A. M.

INVERNESS, *October*, 1881.

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HISTORY OF THE MACDONALDS

WITH

GENEALOGIES OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES.



ORIGIN.

TO write a full, authentic, and, at the same time, popular history of this ancient and illustrious family is no easy task. Its earlier annals are much obscured, and it is difficult to decide between the various contradictory accounts given of it by the earlier chroniclers. The researches of Skene, Gregory, and others have, however, made the task much easier, and the result more trustworthy than it could otherwise have been. Gregory's "History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland," is an invaluable guide, down to 1625, and will be largely taken advantage of in the following pages. The object of that work, to quote the author himself, "is to trace the history of the territories once owned by the great Lords of the Isles, from the time of the downfall of that princely race, in the reign of James IV. of Scotland, until the accession of Charles I. to the throne of Great Britain".

It is not our intention to speculate at any length on the different races which are variously stated to have originally occupied the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Those who desire to enter upon that subject will find various and divergent authorities to consult, which need not here be referred to. In this work we shall get on to solid and authentic historical ground as soon as possible, and leave

speculation as to the origin and prehistoric annals of the Clan to those who delight in such attractive but generally useless inquiries. Skene holds that the Macdonalds are of Celtic, or at all events of mixed Celtic origin; that is, descended from the Gallgall Gaelic pirates, or rovers, who are said to be so described to distinguish them from the Norwegian and Danish *Fingall* and *Dubh-ghall*, or white and black strangers or rovers. He maintains that they are of a purely Pictish descent, not even mixed with the Dalriadic Scots. Gregory thinks that "the earliest inhabitants of the Western Isles or Ebudes (corruptly Hebrides) were probably a portion of the Albanich, Caledonians, or Picts. In some of the Southern Islands, particularly in Isla, this race must have been displaced or overrun by the Dalriads on their first settlement; so that, at the date of the Scottish conquest the Isles, like the adjacent mainland, were divided between the Picts and the Scots. The change produced in the original population of the Isles, by the influx of the Scots—a cognate Celtic race—was, however, trifling compared with that which followed the first settlement of the Scandinavians in the Isles towards the end of the ninth century." From 880 to about 1100 the Western Isles were under and governed by Norwegian and Danish kings. In 1103 the Islanders took for their king Lagman, the eldest son of Godred Crovan, King of Man. This Prince, after a reign of seven years, abdicated, when the nobility of the Isles applied to Murchad O'Brien, then King of Ireland, to send them over a Prince of his blood to act as Regent during the minority of Olave, surviving son of Godred Crovan who died at Jerusalem, where he went on a pilgrimage, shortly after his abdication of the throne. The Irish King sent them Donald McTade, who ruled over the Islanders for two years; but he became so obnoxious, by his tyranny and oppression, that the Island Chiefs rose against him, and expelled him; whereupon he fled to Ireland, and never again returned to the Isles. Olave succeeded and reigned for forty years, preserving his kingdom from aggression, and securing a long

period of peace within his dominions. This king was known among the Highlanders as Olave the Red. He was succeeded by his son, Godred the Black, whose daughter, Ragnhildis, married Somerled, Prince or Lord of Argyle, from whom sprung the dynasty so well known in Scottish history and of which we shall have a good deal to say in the following pages as Lords of the Isles.

It is impossible to decide as to the elements of which the inhabitants of the Western Isles were at this period composed; but there appears to be no doubt that a mixture of Scandinavian and Celtic blood was effected in very early times; and the same holds good of the contiguous mainland districts, which, being intersected by various arms of the sea, were also, like the Isles, overrun more or less by the Norwegian and Danish sea rovers; but, in spite of this, history and topography prove beyond question that the Celtic language ultimately prevailed, and that it was very much the same as is spoken in the present day. While there is no doubt at all as to the mixture of races, it is much more difficult to decide to what extent the mixture prevailed; but all the best authorities hold that the Celtic element predominated. It is, however, of much more importance to discover which of the Scandinavian tribes infused the largest portion of northern blood into the population of the Isles. Gregory says that the Irish annalists divided the piratical bands, "which in the ninth and following centuries infested Ireland, into two great tribes, styled by these writers, *Fiongall*, or white foreigners, and *Dubhghall*, or black foreigners. These are believed to represent—the former, the Norwegians, the latter, the Danes; and the distinction in the names given to them is supposed to have arisen from a diversity either in their clothing or in the sails of their vessels. These tribes had generally separate leaders, but they were occasionally united under one king; and, although both were bent, first on ravaging the Irish shores, and afterwards on seizing portions of the Irish territories, they frequently turned their arms against each other. The Gaelic title of *Rìgh Fiongall*,

or King of the Fionngall, so frequently applied to the Lords of the Isles, seems to prove that Olave the Red, from whom they were descended in the female line, was so styled, and that, consequently, his subjects in the Isles, in so far as they were not Celtic, were Fionngall or Norwegians. It has been remarked by one writer,* whose opinion is entitled to weight, that the names of places in the exterior Hebrides, or the long island, derived from the Scandinavian tongue, resemble the names of places in Orkney, Shetland, and Caithness. On the other hand, the corresponding names in the interior Hebrides are in a different dialect, resembling that of which the traces are to be found in the topography of Sutherland, and appear to have been imposed at a later period than the first mentioned names. The probability is, however, that the difference alluded to is not greater than might be expected in the language of two branches of the same race after a certain interval; and that the Scandinavian of the Hebrides was, therefore, derived from two successive Norwegian colonies. This view is further confirmed by the fact, that the Hebrides, although long subject to Norway, do not appear ever to have formed part of the possessions of the Danes.†

We now come to consider more especially the origin of the Macdonalds, at one time by far the most important, numerous, and powerful of the Western Clans. This noble race is undoubtedly descended from Somerled of Argyle; but his origin is involved in obscurity and surrounded with considerable difficulty. Of his father, *Gillebride*, and of his grandfather, *Gilledomnan*, little is known but the names. According to both the Highland and Irish genealogists, Gilledomnan was sixth in descent from Godfrey MacFergus, who in an Irish chronicle is called Toshach of the Isles, and who lived in the reign of Kenneth MacAlpin. Tradition asserts that Godfrey or one of his race was expelled from the Isles by the Danes,‡ which assertion if correct,

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i., p. 266.

† Highlands and Isles, pp. 8, 9.

‡ Hugh Macdonald's MS. History of the Macdonalds, written about the end of seventeenth century.

may apply to the conquest of Harald Harfager, who in all probability dispossessed many of the native Island chiefs. But the Celtic Seanachies are not satisfied with a descent even so remote as Fergus. They trace, through a long line of ancestors, the descent of that chief from the celebrated Irish King, *Conn nan Ceud Cath*, or Conn of the Hundred Battles. Such is the account of Somerled's origin according to those who maintain his Scoto-Irish descent. Others have maintained that he was undoubtedly a Scandinavian by male descent. "His name," says Gregory, "is certainly a Norse one* ; but then on the other hand, the names of his father and grandfather are purely Celtic ; whilst the inter-marriages that must have taken place between the two races in the Isles and adjacent coasts, make it impossible to found any argument on the Christian name alone. Somerled is mentioned more than once in the Norse Sagas, but never in such a way as to enable us to affirm with certainty what the opinion of the Scandinavian writers was as to his origin. He appears to have been known to them as *Sumarlidi* Haullds, and the impression produced by the passages in which he is mentioned is rather against his being considered a Norseman. It is possible, however, as he was certainly descended from a noted individual of the name of Godfrey, that his ancestor may have been that Gofra MacArailt, King of the Isles, who died in 989. But, on the whole, the uniformity of the Highland and Irish traditions, which can be traced back at least four hundred years, lead to the conclusion that the account first given of the origin of Somerled is correct."

We are informed by the Macdonald genealogists that Gillebride was expelled from his possessions, and that he and his son Somerled were obliged for a long time to conceal themselves in a cave in Morvern, from which circumstance the father is known in tradition as *Gillebride na h'Uamh*, or of the Cave.† From certain circumstances,

* The Norse *Somerled*, and the Gaelic *Somhairle*, are both rendered into English, *Samuel*.

† "Fragment of a Manuscript History of the Macdonalds," written in the reign of Charles II., by Hugh Macdonald, printed from the Gregory collection in the

obscurely hinted at, continues Gregory, it would seem that Gillebride, after the death of Malcolm Ceanmor, had, with the other Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, supported Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, in his claim to the Scottish throne, to the exclusion of Edgar, Malcolm's son, and that, consequently, on the final triumph of the Anglo-Saxon party, Gillebride would naturally be exposed to their vengeance in exact proportion to his power, and to the assistance he had given to the other party. His possessions

"Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis," pages 282-324. It is often referred to by Gregory in his "Highlands and Isles". It begins as follows:—"Sommerled, the son of Gilbert, began to muse on the low condition and misfortune to which he and his father were reduced, and kept at first very retired. In the meantime, Allin Mac Vich Allin coming with some forces to the land of Morverin for pillage and her ships, intending to retire forthwith to Lochaber, from whence he came. From this Allan descended the family of Lochiel. Sommerled thought now it was high time to make himself known for the defence of his country, if he could, or at least see the same, having no company for the time. There was a young sprout of a tree near the cave which grew in his age of infancy. He plucked it up by the root, and putting it on his shoulder, came near the people of Morverin, desired them to be of good courage and do as he did, and so by this persuasion, all of them having pulled a branch, and putting the same on their shoulder, went on encouraging each other. Godfrey Du had possession of the Isles of the north side of Ardnamurchan from the King of Denmark. Olay compelled the inhabitants of some of these Isles to infest Morverin by landing some forces there. The principal surnames in the country were Macinneses and Macgillivrays, who are the same as the Macinneses. They, being in sight of the enemy, could act nothing without one to command them. At length they agreed to make the first person that should appear to them their general. Who came in the meantime but Sommerled, with his bow, quiver, and sword? Upon his appearance they raised a great shout of laughter. Sommerled enquiring the reason, they answered they were rejoiced at his appearance. They told him that they had agreed to make the first that would appear their general. Sommerled said he would undertake to lead them, or serve as a man otherwise. But if they pitched upon him as their commander, they should swear to be obedient to his commands; so, without any delay, they gave him an oath of obedience. There was a great hill betwixt them and the enemy, and Sommerled ordered his men to put off their coats, and put their shirts and full armour above their coats. So making them go three times in a disguised manner about the hill that they might seem more in number than they really were, at last he ordered them to engage the Danes, saying that some of them were on shore and the rest in their ships; that those on shore would fight but faintly so near their ships. Withal he exhorted his soldiers to be of good courage, and to do as they would see him do. The first whom Sommerled slew he ript up and took out his heart, desiring the rest to do the same, because that the Danes were no Christians. So the Danes were put to the flight; many of them were lost in the sea endeavouring to gain their ships; the lands of Mull and Morverin being freed at that time from their yoke and slavery. After this defeat given to the Danes, Sommerled thought to recover Argyle from those who, contrary to right, had possessed it, it being wrung out of the hands of his father unjustly by Macbeath, Donald Bain, and the Danes."

are believed to have been on the mainland of Argyle, but this has not been conclusively ascertained. Somerled when young was drawn from his obscurity, and placed at the head of the men of Morvern, to defend the district from a band of Norse pirates who threatened to ravage it. By his courage and skill Somerled completely defeated them ; and, following up his success, he soon after recovered his paternal inheritance and made himself master of a great portion of Argyle, and henceforth assumed the title of Lord, Thane, or Regulus of Argyle, and became one of the most powerful chiefs in Scotland.

Smibert agrees generally with the better known writers already quoted, and considers it probable, from many concurrent circumstances, that while the Macdonalds were wholly Celtic fundamentally, they had the blood of the Irish Celts commingled in their veins with that of the Pictish Celts. The term Gall-Gael applied to them by early writers, signifying strangers or Piratical Gaels, seems to him to prove that from the first they dwelt in the Isles or sea coasts of the west, and severed them broadly from the Norse pirates, who at the same time visited our western shores. "The Gall-Gael appear to be clearly distinguishable from the primitive or Dalriadic Scots" who issued from Ireland, and originally peopled a considerable portion of Argyle, then termed Dalriada. "The sires of the Macdonalds arrived, in all likelihood, at a somewhat later epoch, fixing themselves more peculiarly in the Isles of the western coasts ; though, when the Scots overturned the kingdom of the southern and eastern Picts in the ninth century, and shifted more or less extensively to the richer territories then acquired, the Gall-Gael seem to have also become the main occupants of Argyle and the surrounding mainland. From that period they are closely identified with the proper northern and north-western Gaelic Picts, with whom they, beyond doubt, formed connections freely. The interests of both were henceforth nearly the same ; and for many successive centuries they struggled conjointly against the growing and adverse power of the Scottish monarchy of the Lowlands."

Of this view of "the descent of the Siol Cuinn (the special name given from an early chief, named Conn of the Hundred Battles, to the ancestors of the Macdonalds) it may at all events be said that there would be some difficulty in offering a more rational and intelligible one, and it may be justified by various and strong arguments. The early and long continued hostility which they displayed towards the Scots will not admit of their being considered as a pure Scoto-Dalriadic tribe. On the other hand, their constant community of interests with the Gaelic Picts of the north and north-west goes far to prove a close connection with these, and a liberal intermixture of blood, though it does not altogether justify us in ascribing their descent wholly and primarily to that native and purely Celtic source. Other facts indeed point strongly to an Irish original. Among such facts may be reckoned the repeated references of the Macdonald race, to Ireland for aid, in all times of peril and difficulty, for many consecutive centuries. From the Somerleds of the eleventh, down to Donald (called the Bastard) in the sixteenth century, the kings and chiefs of the house are again and again recorded as having visited that island and sought assistance as from undoubted relatives. Nor did they do so vainly, the Macquarries, for example, being almost certainly among such introduced auxiliaries. Moreover the line and range of their early possessions lead us directly towards Ireland. The Isle of Man was long one of their chief holdings, while Bute, Arran, and Islay, with Cantire, were among their first Scottish seats, all being in the track of Irish rovers or emigrants. Again the heads of the Macdonalds themselves seem to have entertained opinions as to their descent only explicable on the same supposition. Sir James Macdonald, writing in 1615, speaks of his family as having been 'ten hundred years kindly Scotsmen under the Kings of Scotland.' . . . On the whole, the conclusion reasonably to be drawn from these and similar circumstances is, that the direct founders of the Macdonald race came primarily from Ireland at some very early period of the annals of

the Dalriad-Scots ; and that they were left (or made themselves) the successors of that people in place and power in the west of Scotland, at the precise time when the overthrow of the southern Picts drew their Dalriadic conquerors further inland. That the Siol Cuinn, or Race of Conn, then became deeply and inseparably blended in regard of blood, as well as of interests with the native northern Gael, is a farther conclusion equally consistent with facts and probability."

"The almost natural division between the Highlands and the Lowlands, conjoined with the remembrances which must long have existed of Pictish greatness, ever urged the inhabitants of the former region of all sections and descriptions to unite for the maintenance of its independence against the encroaching Lowlanders. Besides, the ties betwixt the Scots and the Gaelic Picts were broken up at a very early period. The former entirely lost their Pictish dialect, spoken in Bede's time, and became otherwise thoroughly *saxonised*. On the contrary, the Highlanders, whether natives or immigrants, Gaelic or Erse, were from first to last, of the same primary Celtic stock ; and, accordingly it was but natural that all of them should have combined against the Lowlanders as against a common foe, and should, in short, have been blended in the course of time into one people, and that people the Gael of Scotland." The same writer proceeds to say that various other clans of less note are implicated in the question of the origin of the Macdonalds as well as themselves ; and he candidly admits, though personally disposed in favour of the Irish origin, that it is certainly enveloped in considerable difficulties. He then goes on to point out in reply to those who consider an Irish origin "degrading," that such parties appear to forget that whatever Ireland may have been since, that to the ancient western world it was the very cradle of religion and the nursery of civilisation. He asserts that undoubted evidences exist of the advanced state of the Irish people at a time when the Celts of Britain were comparatively in a state of barbarism. To belong to

a race "which sent forth Columba, and through him originated an Iona, with all its concomitant blessings, might satisfy the pride of birth of even the haughtiest families". The settlement of the Saint in Iona would appear to confirm the supposition that the immigrants of the sixth century, who he thinks were accompanied by Saint Columba, and with whom the ancestors of the Macdonalds came over from Ireland, only obtained possession at first of some of the smaller islands, and that they held little of the mainland until the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth centuries, after the removal further south of the Dalriadic-Scots.

Summing up the views of other writers on this subject, particularly those above quoted, the editor of Fullarton's "History of the Highland Clans" assumes that the clan governed by Somerled formed part of the Gall-Gael; that their independent kings must in all probability have been his ancestors; and, therefore, that the names of these kings should be found in the old genealogies of Somerled's family. "But this appears scarcely to be the case. The last king of the Gall-Gael was Suibne, the son of Kenneth, who died in the year 1034; and, according to the manuscript of 1450, an ancestor of Somerled, contemporary with this petty monarch, bore the same name, from which it may be presumed that the person referred to in the genealogy and manuscript is one and the same individual. The latter, however, calls Suibne's father Nialgusa; and in the genealogy there is no mention whatever of a Kenneth. But from the old Scottish writers we learn that at this time there was such a Kenneth, whom they call Thane of the Isles, and that one of the northern maormors also bore the same name, although it is not very easy to say what precise claim either had to be considered as the father of Suibne. There is also a further discrepancy observable in the earlier part of the Macdonald genealogies, as compared with the manuscript; and besides, the latter, without making any mention of those supposed kings, deviates into the misty region of Irish heroic fable

and romance. At this point, indeed, there is a complete divergence, if not contrariety, between the history as contained in the Irish annals and the genealogy developed in the manuscript; for, whilst the latter mentions the Gall-Gael under their leaders as far back as the year 856, the former connect Suibne by a different genealogy with the Kings of Ireland. The fables of the Highland and Irish Sennachies now become connected with genuine history. The real descent of the chiefs was obscured or perplexed by the Irish genealogies and, previous to the eleventh century, neither these genealogies nor even that of the manuscript of 1450 can be considered as of any authority whatever. It seems somewhat rash, however, to conclude, as Mr. Skene has done, that the Siol Cuinn, or descendants of Conn, were of native origin. This exceeds the warrant of the premises, which merely carry the difficulty a few removes backward into the obscurity of time, and there leave the question in greater darkness than ever."

Skene, in his "Highlanders of Scotland," writing of "Siol Cuinn," says:—"This tribe was one far too distinguished to escape the grasping claims of the Irish Sennachies, it accordingly appears to have been among the very first to whom an Irish origin was imputed; but later antiquaries, misled by the close connection which at all times existed between the Macdonalds and the Norwegians of the Isles, have been inclined rather to consider them as of Norwegian origin. Neither of these theories, however, admit of being borne out either by argument or authority. The followers of the Irish system can only produce a vague tradition in its support against the manifest improbability of the supposition that a tribe possessing such extensive territories in Scotland should have been of foreign origin, while history is altogether silent as to the arrival of any such people in the country." The writer then points out that it has been proved that the Irish traditions in Scotland were of a comparatively modern origin, and that the Norwegian origin of the race has been assumed without solid reasons, mainly from the fact that the Danish and Norwegian pirates

ravaged the western shores of Scotland, and brought its inhabitants under subjection, when the conquered Gaels, to some extent, adopted the piratical and predatory habits of their conquerors. The traditions of the Macdonalds themselves, he says, tend to show that they could not have been of foreign origin. The whole of the Highlands, and especially the districts possessed by the Gall-Gael, were inhabited by the Northern Picts, at least as late as the eleventh century. In the middle of the twelfth the Orkneyinga Saga terms Somerled and his sons, who were the chiefs of the tribe, the Dalveria Aett, or Dalverian family—a term, according to Skene, “derived from Dala, the Norse name for the district of Argyle, and which implies that they have been for some time indigenous in the district; and this is confirmed in still stronger terms by the Flatey-book, consequently the Macdonalds were either the descendants of these Pictish inhabitants of Argyle, or else they must have entered the county subsequently to that period. But the earliest traditions of the family uniformly bear that they had been indigenous in Scotland from a much earlier period than that. Thus, James Macdonell, of Dunluce, in a letter written to King James VI., in 1596, has this passage—‘Most mightie and potent prince recomend us unto your hieness with our service for ever, your grace shall understand that our forbears hath been from time to time* your servants unto your own kingdom of Scotland.’ Although many other passages of a similar nature might be produced, these instances may suffice to show that there existed a tradition in this family of their having been natives of Scotland from time immemorial; and it is therefore scarcely possible to suppose that they could have entered the country subsequently to the ninth century. But besides the strong presumption that the Macdonalds are of Pictish descent, and formed a part of the great tribe of the Gall-Gael, we fortunately possess distinct authority for both of these facts. For the former, John Elder includes the

* The expression of “from time to time,” when it occurs in ancient documents, always signifies from time immemorial.

Macdonalds among the 'ancient stoke,' who still retained the tradition of a Pictish descent, in opposition to the later tradition insisted on by the Scottish clergy, and this is sufficient evidence for the fact that the oldest tradition among the Macdonalds must have been one of a Pictish origin. The latter appears equally clear from the last mention of the Gall-Gael in which they are described as the inhabitants of Argyle, Kintyre, Arran, and Man ; and as these were at this period the exact territories which Somerled possessed, it follows of necessity that the Macdonalds were the same people."

In another part of this valuable and now rare work, Skene holds that "we are irresistibly driven to the conclusion, that the Highland Clans are not of a different or foreign origin, but they are a part of the original nation who have inhabited the mountains of Scotland as far back as the memory of man or the records of history can reach—that they were divided into several great tribes possessing their hereditary chiefs ; and that it was only when the line of these chiefs became extinct, and Saxon nobles came in their place, that the Highland Clans appeared in the peculiar situation and character in which they were afterwards found". And he then proceeds :—"This conclusion to which we have arrived by these general arguments is strongly corroborated by a very remarkable circumstance ; for, notwithstanding that the system of an Irish or Dalriadic origin of the Highland Clans had been introduced as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, we can still trace the existence in the Highlands, even as late as the sixteenth century, of a still older tradition than that contained in the MS. of 1450 ; a tradition altogether distinct and different from that one, and one which not only agrees in a singular manner with the system developed in this work, but which also stamps the Dalriadic tradition as the invention of the Scottish Monks, and accounts for its introduction. The first proof of the existence of this tradition, which I shall bring forward, is contained in a letter dated 1542, and addressed to King Henry VIII. of England

by a person designating himself 'John Elder, Clerk, a Reddshanks'. It will be necessary to premise that the author uses the word '*Yrische*' in the same sense in which the word *Erse* was applied to the Highlanders; his word for Irish being differently spelt. In that letter he mentions the 'Yrische lords of Scotland *commonly callit REDD SCHANKES*, and by *historiagraphouris PICTIS*'. He then proceeds to give an account of the Highlanders; he describes them as inhabiting Scotland 'befor the incummyng of Albanactus Brutus second sonne,' and as having been 'gyauntes and wylde people without ordour, civilitie, or maners, and *spake none other language but Yrische*; that they were civilized by Albanactus, from whom they were 'callit Albonyghe'. And after this account of their origin he adds, 'which derivacion the papistical curside spiritualitie of Scotland *will not heir*, in no maner of wyse nor confesse that ever *such a kynge, namede Albanactus reagned ther*, the which derivacion all the Yrische men of Scotland which be the *auncient stoke*, cannot, nor will not denye. But our said bussheps drywithe Scotland and theme selves from a certain lady namede Scota (as they alledge) came out of Egipte, a maraculous hote cuntretti, to secreate hirsself emonges theame in the cold ayre of Scotland, *which they can not afferme by no probable auncient author.*'" From the extracts which have been made from this curious author, continues Skene, it will be at once seen that there was at that time in Scotland *two* conflicting traditions regarding the origin of the Reddschankes or Highlanders, the one supported by the Highlanders of the *more auncient stoke*, the other by the 'curside spiritualitie of Scotland'; and from the indignation and irritation which he displays against the 'bussheps,' it is plain that the latter tradition was gaining ground, and must indeed have generally prevailed. The last tradition is easily identified with that contained in the MS. of 1450 and consequently there must have existed among the purer Highlanders a still older tradition by which their origin was derived from the 'Pictis'. The existence of such a tradition in Scotland

at the time is still further proved by Stapleton's translation of the venerable Bede, which was written in 1550. In that translation he renders the following passage of Bede, 'Cugus monasterium in cunctis pene sept entrionalium Scottorum et omnium *Pictorum* monasteriis non parvo tempore arcem tenebat,' as follows :—'The house of his religion was no small time the head house of all the monasteries of the northern Scottes, and of the Abbeys of all the REDD-SCHANKEs.' It would be needless to multiply quotations to show that the Highlanders were at that time universally known by the term Reddshankes."

Our author further says in regard to this—the oldest tradition which can be traced in the country—that it accords with the conclusions at which he had arrived otherwise by a strict and critical examination of all the ancient authorities on the subject, and forms a body of evidence regarding the true origin of the Highlanders of Scotland to which the history of no other nation can exhibit a parallel ; and he points out that while the authority of John Elder proves that the tradition of the descent of the Highlanders existed before the Irish or Dalriadic system was introduced, we can at the same time learn from him the origin of the later system and the cause of its obtaining such universal belief. The first trace of the Dalriadic system is to be found in the famous letter addressed to the Pope in 1320 by the party who stood out for the independence of Scotland against the claims of Edward I. To this party the clergy belonged, while those who supported Edward I. believed in the more ancient tradition on which he founded his claim, and which included a belief in their descent from the Picts. The question of the independence of Scotland was thus to a great extent, unfortunately, connected by the two parties with the truth of their respective traditions, and "it is plain that as the one party fell, so would the tradition which they asserted ; and the final supremacy of the independent party in the Highlands, as well as in the rest of Scotland, and the total ruin of their adversaries, must have established the absolute belief in the descent of

the Highlanders, as well as the kings and clergy of Scotland, from the Scots of Dalriada ". But in spite of all this, John Elder's letter proves that, notwithstanding the succession of false traditions which prevailed in the Highlands at different periods, traces of the ancient and probably correct one were to be found as late as the middle of the sixteenth century.

What is true of the Highlanders generally must be more or less true of individual clans, and of none more so than of the Macdonalds, to whom we must now return. From all these authorities, though a little conflicting in some points, there seems to be no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that whether Somerled, at a remote period, descended from some of the Scoto-Irish immigrants to the Western Isles or not, the date of such descent is so far back, and his ancestors, if not of them, were so mixed up with the original Celtic Picts, who, in those remote ages, inhabited the Isles and North-west Highlands that the Macdonalds and their immediate progenitor, Somerled of the Isles, may be fairly described as of native Highland origin, with at least as much accuracy as Her Majesty of the United Kingdom, notwithstanding her continental connections, is justly described as of native British descent.

I. SOMERLED OF THE ISLES.

FROM the death of Suibne to the accession of Gillebride, father of Somerled, little or nothing is known of the ancestors of the Macdonalds. Gillebride was expelled from his possessions in the Scottish Highlands by the Danes and the Fiongalls, whereupon he took refuge in Ireland, and afterwards prevailed upon the descendants of Colla, to assist him in an attempt to obtain possession of his ancient inheritance in Scotland. Four or five hundred of these joined him and accompanied him to Alban, but he was unsuccessful and failed to secure his object. It was only after this that Somerled, for the first time, comes into notice. He appears to have been of a very different temper to his father. At first he lived in retirement, musing in silent solitude over the ruined fortunes of his family. When a favourable opportunity presented itself, he, as already stated, placed himself at the head of the people of Morvern; attacked the Norwegians, whom, after a long and desperate struggle, he expelled from the district; and ultimately made himself master, in addition to Morvern, of Lochaber and Argyle. When David the First, in 1135, expelled the Norwegians from Man, Arran, and Bute, Somerled obtained a grant of those islands from the king. "But finding himself unable to contend with the Norwegians of the Isles, whose power remained unbroken, he resolved to recover by policy what he despaired of acquiring by force of arms"; and, with this view, he succeeded in obtaining, about 1140, the hand of Ragnhildis, daughter of Olave, surnamed the Red, then the Norwegian King of the Isles. The following curious account relating how Somerled secured the daughter of Olave, is given in the Macdonald MS.:—"Olay encamped at Loch Storna; Sommerled came to the other side of the loch, and cried

out if Olay was there, and how he fared? Olay replied that he was well. Then said Sommerled, I come from Sommerled, Thane of Argyle, who promises to assist you conditionally in your expedition, provided you bestow your daughter on him. Olay answered that he would not give him his daughter, and that he knew he himself was the man; but that he and his men should follow him in his expedition. So Sommerled resolved to follow Olay. There was at that time a foster-brother of Olay's, one Maurice MacNeill, in Olay's company, who was a near friend of Sommerled; and when Sommerled brought his two galleys near the place where Olay's ship lay, this Maurice aforesaid came where he was, and said that he would find means by which he might come to get Olay's daughter. So, in the night time, he bored Olay's ship under water with many holes, and made a pin for each hole, overlaying them with tallow and butter. When they were up in the morning and set to sea, after passing the point of Ardnamurchan, Olay's ship sprung a leak, casting the tallow and butter out of the holes by the ship tossing on the waves, and beginning to sink, Olay and his men cried for help to Sommerled. Maurice replied that Sommerled would not save him unless he bestowed his daughter upon him. At last, Olay being in danger of his life, confirmed by an oath that he would give his daughter to Sommerled, who received him immediately into his galley. Maurice went into Olay's galley and fixed the pins in the holes which he had formerly prepared for them, and by these means they landed in safety. From that time the posterity of Maurice are called MacIntyres (or wright's sons) to this day. On this expedition Olay and Sommerled killed MacLier, who possessed Strath within the Isle of Skye. They killed Godfrey Du, or the Black, by putting out his eyes, which was done by the hermit MacPoke, because Godfrey Du had killed his father formerly. Olay, surnamed the Red, killed MacNicoll in North Uist likewise. Now Sommerled marrying Olay's daughter, and becoming great after Olay's death, which death, with the relation and

circumstances thereof, if you be curious to know, you may get a long account of it in Camden."

On this point Gregory says, "It appears by no means improbable, too, that Somerled, aware of his own power and resources, contemplated the conquest of a portion, at least, of the Isles, to which he may have laid claim through his remote ancestor, Godfrey. On these or similar grounds, Olave the Red, King of Man and the Isles, was naturally desirous to disarm the enmity, and to secure the support of the powerful Lord of Argyle, whose marriage with Ragnhildis, the daughter of Olave, about 1140—the first authentic event in the life of Somerled—seems to have answered this purpose. Of this marriage, which is lamented by the author of the 'Chronicle of Man,' as the cause of the ruin of the whole kingdom of the Isles, the issue was three sons—Dugall, Reginald, and Angus." In a foot-note Gregory informs us that in regard to Somerled's sons, he follows "the Orkneyinga Saga, p. 383, which is very explicit, and is a better authority than the Chronicle of Man," which latter, adds a fourth son, Olave. In Skene and in the "History of the Highland Clans," he is said to have had another son, Gillecillum, by a previous marriage.

Olave the Red, Somerled's father-in-law, was, in 1154, assassinated by his nephews, the sons of Harald, who made a claim to the half of the kingdom of the Isles. His son, Godred the Black, was at the time in Norway, but, hearing of his father's death, he immediately returned to the Isles, where he was received with acclamation and great rejoicing by the inhabitants as their king. He apprehended and executed the murderers of his father. He went to Ireland to take part in the Irish wars, early in his reign; but afterwards returned to Man, and became so tyrannical, thinking no one could resist his power, that he soon alienated the insular nobility—one of whom, Thorfinn, the most powerful of the Norwegian nobles, sent word to Somerled requesting him to send his son, Dugall, then a child, that he might, being Godred's nephew, be proposed King of the Isles. The ambitious Somerled readily entered into the

views of Thorfinn, who, having obtained possession of Dugall, carried him through all the Isles, except Man, and compelled the inhabitants to acknowledge him as their king, at the same time taking hostages for their fidelity and allegiance. One of the Island Chiefs, named Paul Balkason, and by some called the Lord of Skye, refused to comply with Thorfinn's demand, and, escaping secretly, he fled to the Court of Godred in Man, and informed him of what had just taken place in the Isles, and of the intended revolution. Hearing this, Godred roused himself and collected a large fleet, with which he proceeded against the rebels, who, under the command of Somerled, with a fleet of eighty galleys, met him, and a bloody but indecisive battle ensued. This engagement was fought on the night of the Epiphany, and though neither could claim the victory, next morning a treaty was entered into, by which Godred ceded to the sons of Somerled what were afterwards called the Southern Isles, thus dividing the sovereignty of the Isles and establishing them into two great principalities. By this convention he retained for himself the North Isles and the Isle of Man, those south of Ardnamurchan becoming nominally the possession of the sons of Somerled, but in reality of that warlike Chief himself, his sons being all minors, and he being naturally their protector and guardian. In spite of all these insular proceedings, and the division of their possessions between themselves and among the resident chiefs, the allegiance of all the Isles to Norway still continued intact. It is somewhat curious that Kintyre, a part of the mainland, should always have been included with what was called the South Isles ; but it is explained in a footnote by Gregory as follows :—"The origin of this was a stratagem of Magnus Barefoot. After that Prince had invaded and conquered the Isles, he made an agreement with Malcolm Canmor, by which the latter was to leave Magnus and his successors in peaceable possession of all the Isles which could be circumnavigated. The King of Norway had himself drawn across the narrow isthmus between Kintyre and Knapdale, in a galley, by

which he added the former district to the Isles." This anecdote has been doubted by some, but it appears in Magnus Berfaet's Saga, a contemporary work ; and it is certain that, as late as the commencement of the seventeenth century, Kintyre was classed by the Scottish Government as one of the South Isles.

About two years after this treaty was entered into, for some cause not clearly ascertained, Somerled invaded the Isle of Man with a fleet of fifty-three galleys, and after routing Godred, laid the island waste. Whether the invasion was in consequence of some infringement of the convention, or in consequence of the insatiable ambition of Somerled, it is impossible to say, but the power of the King of Man was so much shattered, that he was obliged to pay a visit to his rival in Norway, and to seek his assistance. He, however, did not return until after the death of Somerled in 1164, a fact from which Gregory thinks it may be inferred that the latter had succeeded in extending his sway over the whole of the Isles.

Meanwhile Somerled was not idle. Malcolm IV. was now King of Scotland, and to him Somerled had early made himself obnoxious by espousing the cause of his nephews, the sons of Wymund, or Malcolm MacHeth, to whom, on his first appearance, Somerled gave his sister in marriage, a circumstance which unmistakably shows the opinion he held of the justice of Malcolm's claim to the Earldom of Moray, while it suited the Government to detain him in prison, as an alleged impostor, though his claims seems now, on minute and careful inquiry, to be considered well founded by the best authorities. The extensive power and high position ultimately attained by this Island Chief may be inferred from the fact that he was able on one occasion to bring his dispute with the King to a termination by a solemn treaty, afterwards considered so important as to form an epoch from which Royal Charters were regularly dated. He is, however, again very soon in arms against the King, having joined the powerful party who determined to depose His Majesty,

and place the Boy of Egremont on the throne. He first infested various parts of the coast, and afterwards, for some time, carried on a vexatious predatory war. The attempt to depose Malcolm soon failed ; but the King, convinced that the existence of an independent Chief like Somerled, was incompatible with the interests of the central Government and the maintenance of public order, requested the Island Chief to resign his possessions into His Majesty's hands, and to hold them in future as a vassal from the Crown. This Somerled declined to do, and boldly declared war against Malcolm himself, who immediately prepared to carry out his intention against the Island King, by invading his territories with a powerful army called together for the purpose. Emboldened by his previous successes, Somerled determined to meet the King with a numerous army from Argyle, Ireland, and the Isles ; and having collected them together, he sailed up the Clyde with one hundred and sixty galleys, landed his followers near Renfrew, threatening, as the Chroniclers inform us, to subdue the whole of Scotland. He there met the Royal army under the command of the High Steward of Scotland, by whom his army was defeated, and he himself and one of his sons, " Gillicolane " * (Gillecallum or Malcolm) were slain. The remaining portion of his followers dispersed. " Sommerled being envied by the rest of the nobility of Scotland for his fortune and valour, King Malcolm being young, thought by all means his kingdom would suffer by the faction, ambition, and envy of his leading men, if Sommerled's increasing power would not be crushed. Therefore, they convened and sent an army to Argyle, under the command of Gilchrist, Thane of Angus, who, harrassing and ravaging the country wherever he came, desired Sommerled to give up his right of Argyle or abandon the Isles. But Sommerled, making all the speed he could in raising his vassals and followers, went after them ; and, joining battle, they fought fiercely on both sides with great slaughter, till night parted them. Two thousand on Sommerled's side, and

* Hailes Annals, ad Annum 1164.

seven thousand on Gilchrist's side, were slain in the field. Being wearied, they parted, and marched off at the dawn of day, turning their backs to one another. After this when the King came to manhood, the nobles were still in his ears, desiring him to suppress the pride of Sommerled, hoping, if he should be crushed, they should or might get his estate to be divided among themselves, and at least get him expelled the country. Sommerled being informed hereof, resolved to lose all, or possess all he had in the Highlands ; therefore, gathering together all his forces from the Isles and the Continent, and shipping them for Clyde, he landed in Greenock. The King came with his army to Glasgow in order to give battle to Sommerled, who marched up the south side of the Clyde, leaving his galleys at Greenock. The King's party quartered at Renfrew. Those about him thought proper to send a message to Sommerled, the contents of which were, that the King would not molest Sommerled for the Isles, which were properly his wife's right ; but as for the lands of Argyle and Kintyre, he would have them restored to himself. Sommerled replied that he had as good a right to the lands upon the Continent as he had to the Isles ; yet those lands were unjustly possessed by the King, MacBeath, and Donald Bain, and that he thought it did not become His Majesty to hinder him from the recovery of his own rights, of which his predecessors were deprived by MacBeath, out of revenge for standing in opposition to him after the murder of King Duncan. As to the Isles, he had an undoubted right to them, his predecessors being possessed of them by the goodwill and consent of Eugenius the First, for obligations conferred upon him ; that when his forefathers were dispossessed of them by the invasion of the Danes, they had no assistance to defend or recover them from the Scottish King, and that he had his right of them from the Danes ; but, however, he would be assisting to the King in any other affairs, and would prove as loyal as any of his nearest friends, but as long as he breathed, he would not condescend to resign any of his rights which

he possessed to any ; that he was resolved to lose all, or keep all, and that he thought himself as worthy of his own, as any about the King's Court. The messenger returned with this answer to the King, whose party was not altogether bent upon joining battle with Sommerled. Neither did the King look much after his ruin, but, as the most of kings are commonly led by their councillors, the King himself being young, they contrived Sommerled's death in another manner. There was a nephew of Sommerled's, Maurice MacNeill, his sister's son, who was bribed to destroy him. Sommerled lay encamped at the confluence of the river Pasley into Clyde. His nephew taking a little boat, went over the river, and having got private audience of him, being suspected by none, stabbed him, and made his escape. The rest of Sommerled's men, hearing the death and tragedy of their leader and master, betook themselves to their galleys. The King coming to view the corpse, one of his followers, with his foot, did hit it. Maurice being present, said, that though he had done the first thing most villainously and against his conscience, that he was unworthy and base so to do ; and withal drew his long Scian, stabbed him, and escaped by swimming over to the other side of the river, receiving his remission from the King thereafter, with the lands which were formerly promised him. The King sent a boat with the corpse of Sommerled to Icollumkill at his own charges. This is the report of twenty writers in Icollumkill, before Hector Boetius and Buchanan were born. . . . Sommerled was a well tempered man, in body shapely, of a fair piercing eye, of middle stature, and quick discernment.”*

Gregory is disposed to believe in the account which says “ that he was assassinated in his tent by an individual in whom he placed confidence, and that his troops, thus deprived of their leader, returned in haste to the Isles.” He does not, however, adopt the conclusion that Somerled was buried in Icolmkill. “ Modern enquiries,” he says, “ rather lead to the conclusion that he was interred at the

* Macdonald MS. : printed in the “ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* ”.

Church of Sadale, in Kintyre, where Reginald, his son, afterwards founded a monastery."

A recent writer, who claims descent for the Macdonalds from Fergus Mor, son of Eirc, "who, about the year 506, permanently laid the foundation of the Dalriadic Kingdom of Scotland," sums up the character of Somerled thus—The family of Fergus Mor continued to maintain a leading position in Scotland, supplying with few exceptions, the line of Dalriadic kings, and many of the more powerful of its thanes, or territorial lords. Of the latter, the most historical, and, it may be truly added, the most patriotic, was a great thane of Argyle, who appeared in the twelfth century, called *Somhairle* among his Celtic kinsmen, but better known as Somerled, which was the Norwegian form of his name. During the tenth and eleventh centuries, frequent settlements were made by Norwegian colonists among the Celtic population of the Highlands and Isles of Scotland. Although, however, the evils of Northern rapacity and oppression were keenly felt, the Celtic element continued to predominate even during the most disastrous periods. At length, a deliverer arose in Somerled, who was the son of a Celtic father, and a fair-haired, blue-eyed Norwegian mother. Few, if any, military leaders have left their marks more broadly or distinctly in Scottish history than he. This fact stands clearly out not only from the records of his career, preserved in authentic chronicles, but perhaps even more strikingly in the circumstantial traditions respecting him which still exist in Argyleshire and the Isles. These traditions when compared with the well-authenticated records of his life, appear like the fragments of some history that had been written of him, but is now lost, and hence they serve to supplement attractively the curt and dry details of the old chronicles. Many of these traditions refer to the youthful days of Somerled, who appears to have grown up an indolent and handsome giant. His father, Gillebride, regarded with contempt the seemingly unwarlike nature of his youngest son, who occupied himself in hunting and fishing, whilst his brothers trained

themselves to engage, as opportunities offered, in deadly conflict with their Norwegian oppressors. Somerled's indolent and pleasant time, however, was soon destined to end. His father, being driven from the hills and glens of Argyle, was compelled to conceal himself in a cave in Morven, and from that moment Somerled began to take serious counsel regarding the position of affairs with his youthful companions of the chase. He found them ready, and equally prepared to hunt the wild boar, or assault the dreaded Norsemen. Somerled's very nature thenceforward was entirely changed ; he became a new man ; the indolent dreamer was suddenly absorbed in the delights of stratagem and battle. He spoiled like the eagle, and had no joy so great as when in the act of rending the prey. His little band gathered strength as he went, and under his eye dealt blow after blow on the bewildered enemy, until the Norsemen, whether soldiers or settlers, quickly abandoned garrisons and settlements in Argyle. They crowded into the Hebridean Islands, whither Somerled pursued them, capturing the Islands in detail, killing or expelling the invaders, and firmly establishing once more the old Celtic authority. Thus, on the ruin of the Norwegian power, Somerled built up his Island throne, and became not only the greatest thane of his family, but the founder of that *second* line of Island rulers, who, for nearly a period of four centuries, were occasional and formidable rivals of the Scottish kings.*

We have seen that Somerled, by Elfrica or Rachel, daughter of Olave the Red, King of Man, had three sons, first, Dugall, ancestor of the Macdougalls of Lorn and Dunolly ; second, Reginald, from whom all the branches of the Clan Donald with whom we shall specially deal in the following pages ; and third, Angus, who succeeded to Bute, and was killed in Skye with his three sons in 1210. One of the sons of the latter, James, had a daughter, Jane, who married Alexander, son of Walter, High Steward of Scot-

* " An Historical Account of the Macdonells of Antrim," by the Rev. George Hill, editor of the " Montgomery Manuscripts ".

land, in right of whom he claimed Bute and Arran. Somerled also had a daughter, Beatrice. James Macdonald, in his *Hebrides*, p. 705, states that in the year 1811, the following inscription was legible on a monumental slab in Iona:—*Behag Nyn Shorle Ilvrid Priorissa*: that is, Beatrice, daughter of Somerled, Prioress.

Besides the three sons of his marriage with Rachel, daughter of Olave the Red, Somerled had other sons, who seemed to have shared with their brothers, according to the then prevalent custom of gavel-kind, the mainland possessions held by their father; whilst the sons descended of the house of Man divided amongst them, in addition, the South Isles, as ceded by Godred in 1156. He is said by some authorities to have been twice married, and that Gillecallum, or Malcolm, and other sons, were by the first marriage.

It has never been disputed that this Somerled was the immediate ancestor of the family of Macdonald. The period immediately succeeding his death is historically very obscure. "A second Somerled is found apparently holding his place, and many of his possessions, during the first twenty years of the succeeding, or thirteenth century. This must either have been a son or a grandson of the other—most probably the latter, since Gillecolum, apparently the son of the elder Somerled by a first marriage, fell with him at Renfrew, and in all likelihood left the offspring, which bore the grandsire's name. This is the most feasible way in which the existence and the rule of the second Somerled can well be explained."† The author of the Macdonald MS., in the Transactions of the Iona Club, who, it must be stated, cannot always be depended upon, says that "after Sommerled, his son Sommerled succeeded him as Thane of Argyle; Reginald his brother, the Isles; Dugall, Lorn; and Gillies, had Kintyre, by the disposition of their father. Sommerled pretended that the people of Cowal and Lennox harried his lands of their store and cattle, and therefore made incursions on them,

† Smibert's Highlanders.

of which they complained to the King. Furthermore, he would have the lands which were left by his father to his brethren at his own disposal. The King sent the Earl of March with a considerable body of men against him, who was so favourable that he advised, at a private conference, that since he lost his affection for his brethren, by seizing on those lands which their father left them, he could not stand out against the King and them, and therefore that it was best he should go along with him, and he would procure for him the King's pardon and favour ; so he did, and was pardoned by the King. Shortly thereafter he died, leaving two sons, John and Maolmory, who were both young. Of this John are descended the MacEans of Ardnamurchan. He was buried at Icollumkill. Reginald, his brother, became tutor to John." Gregory says nothing about this second Somerled, but, at page 67, he correctly traces the MacIans of Ardnamurchan from John *Sprangach*, younger son of Angus Mor of Isla. The editor of Fullarton's "Highland Clans" considers the existence of this second Somerled "very doubtful". Skene, however, believes in his existence. At this time of day it is impossible to settle the point ; but it is of little importance whether he existed or not, as even if he had there is now no question as to his successors having become extinct soon after his own death.

Dougal (said by all the best authorities to have been Somerled's eldest son by the second marriage), succeeded to the Southern Isles and part of Argyle, if the Norse Sagas and native writers are to be credited, but his exact position has never been clearly defined. The records of the time are most confusing and obscure, but all authorities are agreed that two or three of his line succeeded him ; and there is no doubt whatever that his main line terminated in two heiresses—the daughters of "King Ewin," the eldest of whom, according to Skene, married the Norwegian King of Man ; and the other, Alexander of the Isles, a grandson of Reginald, and ancestor of the MacAlastairs of Kintyre. Gregory does not enter at any

length into this part of the history of the Island Chiefs—that of the immediate descendants of Somerled before the great expedition of Haco, King of Norway—beyond stating that “from King Dugall sprung the great House of *Argyle and Lorn*, patronymically Macdugall,* which, at the time of Haco’s expedition, was represented by Dugall’s grand-son, Ewin, commonly called King Ewin, and sometimes erroneously King John”; but Skene informs us, that the failure of the male descendants of Dugall in the person of Ewin, had the effect of dividing this great clan into three, the heads of each of which held their lands of the Crown. These were the Clan Rory, Clan Donald, and Clan Dugall, “severally descended from three sons of these names, of Reginald, the second son of Somerled by his second marriage”. The Clan Dugall is generally, and, we believe, more correctly held to be descended from Dugall, the eldest son of Somerled himself, but our present purpose does not require us to go into a discussion of that question, as we are only dealing with the descendants of Donald, undoubtedly a son of Reginald, son of Somerled, Thane of Argyle.

Somerled was succeeded in his territories of Isla, Kintyre, and part of Lorn, by his son,

II. REGINALD,

who assumed the title of Lord of the Isles, or received it from his followers; for at that time, whatever chief led either party, when the possessions of Somerled were subdivided among his sons, was called by his supporters, King of the Isles. We find that both Dugall and Reginald were styled Kings of the Isles at the same time that Reginald, the son of Godred the Black, was called King of Man and the Isles; and in the next generation mention is made in a Norse chronicle of three Kings of

* This family used generally the territorial surname of “de Ergadia,” or “of Argyle”.

the Isles, all of the race of Somerled existing at one and the same time. From this Gregory infers "that the word king as used by the Norwegians and their vassals in the Isles, was not confined, as in Scotland, to one supreme ruler, but that it had with them an additional meaning, corresponding either to prince of the blood-royal or to magnate. Many Seannachies or genealogists in later times, being ignorant of, or having overlooked this distinction, have, by means of the expression King of the Isles, been led to represent those whom they style the direct heirs or successors of Somerled, through his son Reginald, and who alone, according to them, bore the royal title, as holding a rank very different from what they actually did."

A most important change came over the fortunes of this family in 1220, when King Alexander the Second led an army into the district of Argyle, for the first time annexed it decisively to the Crown, and, according to Smibert, expelled the second Somerled, who died soon after. Alexander, determined upon breaking up the kingdom of the Western Isles, and to reduce the power of its insular chiefs, confirmed in their possession on the Western shores all those who agreed to submit to his authority and consented to hold their lands direct from the Crown of Scotland. In place of those who still held out, he invited families from the adjoining tribes, and planted and confirmed them in the lands of the ancient possessors. It is about this time that Highland families first began to assume surnames, and it was about the date of this division of the territories of Argyle, that we find mentioned for the first time such names as the Macgregors, Macnaughtons, Macneils, Clan Chattan, and Lamonts. At the same time, Argyle, which extended much further inland than the present county does, was formed into a Sheriffship—the hereditary appointment being in favour of the ancestors of the present House of Argyle. The whole of Ergadia Borealis, or North Argyle, was at the same time granted to the Earl of Ross for services rendered to the King.

From Reginald, King of the Isles, sprang two great families, that of *Isla* descended from his son Donald, and therefore patronymically styled Macdonald; and that of *Bute* descended from his son Ruari, and therefore patronymically styled Macruari.* It appears that most of the descendants of Somerled had for a century after his death a divided allegiance, holding part of their lands, those in the Isles, from the King of Norway, their mainland domains, at the same time, being held of the King of Scotland. The latter, whose power was now gradually increasing, could not be expected to allow the Isles to remain dependent on Norway without his making an effort to conquer them. The first footing obtained by the Scots in the Isles was, apparently, soon after the death of Somerled, when the Steward of Scotland seized the Island of Bute. That island seems after this to have changed masters several times, and, along with Kintyre, to have been a subject of dispute between the Scots and Norwegians, whilst in the course of these quarrels the family of the Steward strengthened their claim by marriage in the following manner:—We have seen that Angus MacSomerled (who is supposed to have been Lord of Bute) and his three sons, were killed in 1210; nor does it appear that Angus had any other male issue. James, one of these sons, left a daughter and heiress, Jane, married to Alexander, the son and heir of Walter the High Steward of Scotland, who, in her right, claimed the Isle of Bute, and, perhaps, Arran also.† This claim was naturally resisted by Ruari, the son of Reginald, till the dispute was settled for a time by his expulsion, and the seizure of Bute and Arran by the Scots. It has been maintained by

* Both the Macdonalds and Macruaries used the territorial surnames of de Yla, or "of Isla," and "de Insulis," or "of the Isles".

† "In the traditions of the Stewarts, this lady's grandfather is called Angus MacRorie, which, as I conceive, is an error for Angus MacSorlie—the latter being the way in which MacSomerled (spelt MacSomhairle) is pronounced in Gaelic. That there was about this time a matrimonial alliance between the house of Stewart and that of Isla, is probable from a dispensation in 1342, for the marriage of two individuals of these families, as being within the forbidden degrees—Andrew Stewart's Hist. of the Stewarts, p. 433."—Footnote in Gregory.

some writers, among them, the editor of Fullarton's Clans, that Ruari was the eldest son of Reginald. Others hold that Donald was the eldest ; and it is impossible now to say which is the correct view ; but this is of less consequence, as it has been conclusively established that Ruari's descendants terminated in the third generation in a female, Amie, who married John of Isla, great-grandson of Donald of Isla, Ruari's brother, and direct ancestor of all the existing branches of the Macdonalds. Thus, the succession of the ancient House of Somerled fell indisputably to the descendants of Donald, son of Reginald, and grandson to the illustrious Somerled, Lord of Argyle, who became the most powerful, and whose territories were the most extensive, of all the Highland Clans ; indeed at one time they were equal to all the others put together.

Roderick followed the instincts of his Norwegian ancestors and became a desperate pirate, whose daring incursions and predatory expeditions fill the annals of the period. He had two sons, Allan and Dugall, who settled down among their relatives of the west. Dugall joined Haco in his expedition against the Isles, and, in return for his services, obtained a considerable addition to his previous possessions, including the possessions of his brother Allan, called "Rex Hebudem". He died in 1268 without issue. Allan succeeded his father, but left no legitimate male issue, when his possessions went to his only daughter Christina, who resigned her lands to the king, and had them re-conveyed to her to strengthen her position against the claims of her natural brother, Roderick, who, however, appears to have come into possession afterwards, probably on the death of his sister, as we find his lands forfeited in the reign of Robert Bruce, in consequence of the share he took in the Soulis conspiracy of 1320. His lands were, however, restored to his son Ranald, who also had lands from William, Earl of Ross, in Kintail,[†] in connection with which he became embroiled with that powerful Chief,

[†] Charter of King David, 4th July, 1342 ; and Robertson's Index, p. 48, David II. ; also *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*.

when a feud ensued, which resulted in Ranald's death. In 1346, David II. summoned the Scottish Barons to meet him at Perth, when Ranald MacRuari made his appearance with a considerable retinue and took up his quarters in the monastery of Elcho, a few miles from the city ; whereupon the Earl of Ross, who also attended in obedience to the King's orders, determined to be revenged on his vassal, and, entering the convent about the middle of the night, he killed Ranald and seven of his principal followers. Leaving no succession, his lands fell to his sister Amie, who, as already stated, married, and carried her lands to John of Isla, of whom hereafter. These lands, according to Gregory, comprised also the Isles of Uist, Barra, Eigg, Rum, and the Lordship of Garmoran (also called Garbh-chrioch), which "comprehends the districts of Moydert, Arasaig, Morar, and Knoydart," being the original possessions of the family in the North.* A charter was granted to the Bishop of Lismore, 1st January, 1507 [Mag. Sig. L. xiv. No. 405], confirming two evidents made by Reginald in his lifetime, in which he is described as the son of Somerled, qui se Regem Insularum nominavit Lord of Ergyle and of Kintyre, founder of the monastery of Sagadull (Sadell), of the lands of Glensagadull, and twelve marks of the lands of Ballebeain, in the Lordship of Kintyre, and of twenty marks of the lands of Cosken in Arran, to the said Abbey. He made very ample donations to the monastery of Paisley, that he, and Fonia his wife, might be entitled to all the privileges of brotherhood in the convent.† Of the principal events in the life of Reginald very little is known, and what can be ascertained is not free from uncertainty, for he was contemporary with Reginald, the Norwegian King of Man and the Isles, which makes it impossible to distinguish between the recorded acts of the two. Reginald was, however, without doubt designated "dominus insularum," and sometimes "Rex insularum," or King of the Isles, as well as "dominus de

* Highlands and Isles, p. 27.

† Wood's Douglas's Peerage ; and Highlands and Isles, p. 5.

Ergile and Kintyre," under which title he grants certain lands as above to the Abbey of Saddell which he had founded in Kintyre. The author of "The Historical Account of the Macdonalds of Antrim," says [page 10] that Ranald, "although a younger son, became in reality the representative of the family, being not only popular in Scotland but respected on the coasts of Ulster, where he appeared sometimes as peace-maker among the Northern Irish chieftains. If, however, he bore this character on the Irish coast, his sons occasionally came on a very different mission. At the year 1211, the Annals of the Four Masters and the Annals of Loch Ce, inform us that Thomas Mac-Uchtry (of Galloway) and the sons of Ragnall, son of Somhairle, came to Doire Chollum-Chille (Derry) with seventy ships, and the town was greatly injured by them. O'Domhnaill and they went to Inis Eoghain, and they completely destroyed the country."

He married Fonia, a sister of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and by her had—

1. Donald of Isla, his heir, from whom the Macdonalds took their name, and

2. Roderick, or Ruari, of Bute, whose succession and possessions we have already described, and whose issue terminated in Amie, who married John of Isla. According to the Macdonald MS. he had two other sons, Angus,* who had a son, Duncan, of whom the Robertsons, or Clann Donnachaidh of Athol, "and MacLullichs, who are now called in the low country Pittullichs". He had another son, John Maol, or Bald, who, according to the same authority, went to Ireland, and "of whom descended the Macdonalds of Tireoin" (Land of John, or Tyrone).

Reginald died in the 54th year of his age, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

* Major Mackenzie in his Mackenzie Genealogies, Supplementary Sheet, calls this Angus a *natural son*.

III. DONALD "DE ISLA,"

Or, of the Isles, from whom the Macdonalds derive their name. The share of his father's possessions which appears to have fallen to him comprised South Kintyre and Islay ; but it is certain that he also came into possession, as head of the house, of his brother Roderick's lands, by themselves a very extensive patrimony. A period of great importance in the history of the family has now been reached, and it is disappointing to find how little is recorded of the career of this chief who had so prominent a share in the most important events which took place during the early part of the thirteenth century. Though the ancient autocratic authority of the Clan over others was never recovered by the race of Somerled after the partition by Alexander II. of the great district of Argyle, the ultimate union of all the claims and rights of this ancient and potent house in the line of Donald raised the family and its chief anew, to a pitch of power and eminence in Scotland almost unequalled by any other family in the kingdom, certainly unequalled in the Western Isles. Donald, like all the Western chiefs, after the treaty of succession agreed to as the result of the battle of Largs, held his possessions direct from the Scottish King, and, ever since, his successors remained subjects of the Scottish crown, in spite of many successive attempts on their part, almost invariably instigated by the English Government, to establish their independence in the Isles, and to embarrass the Scots. Hugh Macdonald informs us that Donald succeeded his father "in the Lordship of the Isles and Thaneship of Argyle"; that he went to Denmark, and took with him many of the ancient Danes of the Isles, such as "the Macduffies, and Macnagills"; that his uncle Dugall accompanied him; and that his own rights, and the peculiar rights he had to the Isles through his grandmother, daughter of Olave the Red, were then renewed to him by Magnus, King of Denmark. "After this, he and his uncle Dugall became enemies, so that at last he was forced to kill Dugall. After this King Alexander

(of Scotland) sent Sir William Rollock as messenger to him to Kintyre, desiring to hold the Isles of him, which he had now from the King of Denmark. Donald replied that his predecessors had their rights to the Isles from the Crown of Denmark, which were renewed by the present King thereof, and that he held the Isles of his Majesty of Denmark, before he renounced his claim to his Majesty. Sir William said that the King might grant the superiority of the Isles to whom he pleased. Donald answered to this that Olay the Red, and Godfrey the Black's father, from whom he had the most of the Isles, had the Isles by their conquest, and not from the King of Denmark or Scotland, so that he and Sir William could not end the debate in law or reasoning. Donald being advised by wicked councillors, in the dawning of the day surprised Sir William and his men. Sir William, with some of his men, were killed. He banished Gillies (his wife's father) out of the Isles to the glens of Ireland, where some of his offspring remain until this day. He killed Gillies' young son, called Callum Alin. He brought the MacNeils from Lennox to expel Gillies out of Kintyre. After this he went to Rome, bringing seven priests in his company, to be reconciled to the Pope and Church. These priests declaring his remorse of conscience for the evil deeds of his former life, the Pope asked if he was willing to endure any torment that the Church was pleased to inflict upon him? Donald replied that he was willing, should they please to burn him in a caldron of lead. The Church, seeing him so penitent, dispensed him. Some writers assert that he had his rights from the Pope of all the lands he possessed in Argyle, Kintyre, and the rest of the continent. After he returned home, he built (rebuilt or enlarged) the monastery of Saddell in Kintyre, dedicating (it) to the honour of the Virgin Mary. He mortified 48 merks land to that monastery, and the Island of Heisker to the Nuns of Iona. He died at Shippinage in the year 1289, and was buried at Icolumkill." *

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, pp. 288-9. Donald must have died long before 1289.

He imitated his father's liberality to the Church, particularly to the monks of Paisley, to whom he gave ample testimony of his charity and goodwill, on condition that "*ille uxor sua, heredes sui, et homines sui, participes sint in perpetuum, omnium bonorum quæ in domo de Paslet, et in toto ordine Cluniascensi fient, tam in orationibus, quam in ceteris divinis servitiis*". In this document he is designated "*Dovenaldus, filius Reginaldi filius Somerledi*".* He left two sons.—

1. Angus Mor MacDonald, his heir.

2. Alexander, according to Douglas, ancestor of the MacAlisters of Loup, and of the Alexanders of Menstrie, Earls of Stirling. This is corroborated by an old genealogical tree of the Macdonalds in our possession.

Donald of the Isles was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. ANGUS MOR MACDONALD,

Who was Chief at the time of Haco's expedition to the Western Isles in 1266, and who, with his fleet, immediately joined Haco on his arrival, and assisted him throughout the war, though it appears, in consequence of the treaty afterwards arranged between the Kings of Scotland and Norway, that he did not suffer for his conduct, either in person or property. In 1284 he appeared at the convention at which the Maiden of Norway was declared heiress to the Crown of Scotland, on which occasion his support seems to have been purchased by a grant of Ardnamurchan. He confirmed his father's and grandfather's grants to the Abbey of Saddell, and granted it further lands himself by four separate charters.† He also made a donation to the convent of Paisley of half a mark of silver "*de domo suo proprio, et de singulis domibus per omnes terras suas de quibus fumum exit unum denari, singulis annis in perpetuum in puram elemosynam*". He also gave the monastery of the same

* Wood's Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., p. 6.

† Skene's Highlanders.

place the patronage of the Church of Kilkerran, in Kintyre, "pro salute animæ, Domini sui Alexandri Regis Scoticæ illustris, et Alexandri, filii ejus, etiam pro salute sua propria, et heredum suorum".* A letter is addressed, in 1292, "to Anegous, the son of Dovenald of the Isles, and Alexander, his eldest son, respecting their comporting themselves well and faithfully to the King of England".†

Writing of the descendants of Somerled about this period, Gregory says that of these "there were, in 1285, three great noblemen, all holding extensive possessions in the Isles as well as on the mainland, who attended in that Scottish Parliament, by which the crown was settled on the Maiden of Norway. Their names were Alexander de Ergadia of Lorn (Son of Ewin of Lorn), Angus, the son of Donald, and Allan, the son of Ruari. From the nature of the treaty, in 1266, it is obvious that these individuals were vassals of the King of Scotland for all their possessions, and not merely for what they held on the mainland, as some have supposed. It is further clear that, at this time, none of the three bore the title of Lord of the Isles, or could have been properly so considered; and it is equally certain that the first individual whom we find assuming the style of Lord of the Isles, in its modern signification, possessed all those Isles, and very nearly all those mainland estates, which, in 1285, were divided among three powerful noblemen of the same blood. But of this hereafter. From the preceding remarks, it will readily be perceived that the boasted independence of the modern Lords of the Isles is without historical foundation. Prior to 1266, the Isles were subject to Norway; at that date the treaty of cession transferred them to Scotland".‡

Angus Mor, who according to Hugh Macdonald, "was of a very amiable and cheerful disposition, and more witty than any could take him from his countenance," resided for a portion of his life at the Castle of Ardtornish. He

* Chartulary Lereuax, 186-187 b.

† Douglas's Peerage.

‡ Western Highlands and Isles, p. 23.

married a daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
 2. Angus Og, who succeeded his brother Alexander.
- He died in 1300, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. ALEXANDER MACDONALD

Of the Isles, who married one of the daughters, and co-heiress, of Ewen de Ergadia, the last of the male descendants of Dugall of Lorn, by whom he received a considerable acquisition to his already extensive territories ; but having joined John Stewart, Lord of Lorn, in his opposition to Robert Bruce, he naturally became a partner in the consequent collapse and ruin of that great family. After the defeat of the Lord of Lorn at Lochow, Bruce proceeded against Alexander of the Isles ; crossed over the isthmus of Tarbet, and laid siege to Castle Sweyn, where Alexander usually resided. The Island Chief proved as little able to resist the power of Bruce as the Lords of Lorn had previously been, and he was compelled to surrender to the King, who immediately imprisoned him in Dundonald Castle, where he ultimately died. His possessions were forfeited to the Crown, and afterwards granted to his brother Angus Og.

He is designated "*Alexander de Insulis Scotiæ, filius Angusii, filius Dovenaldi*," in a letter addressed to him during the life of his father, wherein he is directed to keep the peace within his bounds of the Isles, till the meeting of the Parliament of Scotland, on the day of St. Thomas the Martyr, 1292. He is also designed in the same style in a confirmation of a donation of the Church of Kilkerran to the monastery of Paisley, to which Robert, Earl of Carrick, and Robert Bruce, his son and heir, are witnesses.

He died in 1303, and was succeeded by his brother,

VI. ANGUS OG MACDONALD,

Who, fortunately for himself and his clan, sided with Bruce from the outset of his bold attempt to free his native land

from the English Edwards. After the disastrous defeat at Methven, and the subsequent skirmish with the Lord of Lorn at Tyndrum, the valiant Bruce was obliged to fly with his life, whereupon Angus of the Isles received and sheltered him in his castle of Saddell, Cantire, and, in August 1306, in his more secure Castle of Dunaverty, until, with Macdonald's aid, he retired some time after for safer refuge to the Island of Rathlin, on the north coast of Ireland, then possessed by the family of the Isles. From this period Angus Og attached himself to the party of Bruce, and took an important share in all the subsequent enterprises, which terminated in the final defeat of the English at Bannockburn, and established for ever the independence of Scotland. Here Angus commanded the reserve, composed of 5000 Highlanders, led, under his own chief command, by sixteen of their own immediate chiefs. On this memorable occasion Angus and his Highlanders performed such distinguished service that, as a permanent mark of distinction for the gallantry and effect with which they plied their battle-axes, Bruce assigned to Angus, and his descendants for ever, the honourable position of the right flank of the Royal army. He first joined Bruce in 1286, and his loyalty never faltered, even when the fortunes of the King appeared most hopeless. He had previously assisted him in his attack on Carrick, when "the Bruce wan his father's hall," and continued to support him in all his toils and dangers, until these were crowned and rewarded by the great victory of Bannockburn. It was thus natural that the Chief of the Isles, having shared in the misfortunes of the Deliverer of his country, should, when success crowned their efforts, also share in the advantages secured by the victors. The extensive possessions of the Comyns and their allies, the Lords of Lorn, having been forfeited, were now at the disposal of the King, and he bestowed upon Angus the Lordship of Lochaber, which had formerly belonged to the Comyns, as also the lands of Duror and Glencoe, and the Islands of Mull, Jura, Coll, and Tiree, which had formed part of the possessions of the

family of Lorn. Bruce was quite alive to the danger of raising up a powerful vassal like Angus Og of the Isles to a position of such power and influence by adding so much to his already extensive territories, and thus adding to the influence of so powerful an opponent and possible rival even to the Crown itself ; but the services rendered by the Island Chief in Bruce's greatest need, could not be overlooked, and so, believing himself quite secure in the attachment of Angus during his own life, he made these extensive grants, the only condition made by him to neutralize in any way their effects, being the erection of the Castle of Tarbet in Kintyre, which was to be occupied by the King's troops as a Royal stronghold, within the territories of the Island Chief. He obtained a charter from David II. "of the Isle of Isla, Kintyre, the Isle of Gythy (? Gigha), Dewae (Jura), the Isle of Coluynsay, and the twenty-four mark land of Moror, near the lands of Mule." He had a daughter named Fyngole, as appears from a Papal dispensation, dated 19th Kal. Februarii 1342, permitting John Stewart and Fyngole, "*filia nobilis viri Angusii de Insulis*," to marry, notwithstanding their being within the fourth degree of consanguinity.

According to Hugh Macdonald's MS., Robert Bruce was entertained by Angus for a whole half-year at Saddell ; he repeatedly sent his galleys with men to Ireland, and sent Edward Bruce across on various occasions, furnishing him with the necessary stores for his expedition. He brought over 1500 men from Ireland, who fought with him at a place called Brarich, near Lochow. He erroneously states that he was still a minor when his father died. At the age of 22 years "he was proclaimed Lord of the Isles and Thane of Argyle and Lochaber," but he was much opposed on his first entry into his possessions "by Macdougall of Lorn, on account of the Island of Mull, to which he pretended right." Gregory, referring to this period, sums up the changes which took place, and the results which followed, thus :—In the series of struggles for Scottish independence, which marked the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the fourteenth

centuries, the Lords of Lorn, who were closely connected by marriage with the Comyn and Balliol party, naturally arrayed themselves in opposition to the claims of Bruce. On the other hand, the Houses of Isla and of the North Isles supported with all their power the apparently desperate fortunes of King Robert I., and thus, when he came to be firmly seated on the throne, had earned the gratitude of that Prince, in the same proportion as the family of Lorn, by the inveteracy of their hostility, had provoked his resentment. On the forfeiture of Alexander, Lord of Lorn, and his son and heir, John, their extensive territories were granted by Bruce to various supporters; and, amongst others, to Angus Og, *i.e.*, Junior, of Isla, and to Roderick, or Ruari MacAlan, the bastard brother and leader of the vassals of Christina, the daughter and heiress of Alan MacRuari of the North Isles. The Isles of Mull (the possession of which had, for some time past, been disputed betwixt the Lords of Isla and Lorn), Jura, Coll, and Tiree, with the districts of Duror and Glencoe, fell, in this way, to the share of Angus Og. Lorn proper, or the greatest part of it, was bestowed on Roderick MacAlan, to whom his sister Christina gave, at the same time, a large portion of her inheritance in Garmoran and the North Isles. The Lordship of Lochaber, forfeited by one of the powerful family of Comyn, seems to have been divided between Angus Og and Roderick. The former likewise obtained in this reign, the lands of Morvern and Ardnamurchan, which seem previously to have been in the hands of the crown. But while Bruce thus rewarded his faithful adherents, he was too sensible of the weakness of Scotland on the side of the Isles, not to take precautionary measures against the possible defection of any of the great families on that coast, who might with ease admit an English force into the heart of the kingdom. He procured from Angus Og, who was now apparently the principal crown vassal in Kintyre, the resignation of his lands in that district, which were immediately bestowed upon Robert, the son and heir of Walter the High Steward, and the Princess Marjory

Bruce. At the same time the fortifications of the Castle of Tarbet, between Kintyre and Knapdale, the most important position on the coast of Argyleshire, were greatly enlarged and strengthened, and the custody of this commanding post was committed to a Royal garrison. Following out the same policy in other places, the keeping of the Castle of Dunstaffnage, the principal messuage of Lorn, was given by Bruce, not to Roderick MacAlan, the "High Chief of Lorn," but to an individual of the name of Campbell, who was placed there as a royal constable. Towards the end of Bruce's reign, Roderick MacAlan of Lorn and the North Isles, was forfeited of all his possessions for engaging in some of the plots which, at that period, occupied the attention and called forth the energies of that celebrated king. On this occasion, it is probable that Angus Og, whose loyalty never wavered, received further additions to his already extensive possessions ; and before King Robert's death the house of Islay was already the most powerful in Argyle and the Isles.*

Angus Og married Margaret, daughter of Guy O'Cathan of Ulster, the "tocher" being, according to the Seannachie already quoted, "seven score men out of every surname under O'Kaine". Among these, it is said, came twenty-four chiefs, who afterwards became the heads of clans or septs. Of that number, Macdonald mentions "the Munroes, so-called because they came from the Innermost Roe-water in the county of Derry, their names being formerly O'Millans ; the Roses of Kilraack, the Fairns, Dingwalls, Glasses, Beatons, so now called, but improperly, that being a French name, whereas they are Irish, of the tribe of O'Neals, and took the name (of Beaton) from following the name of Beda. Our Highland Shenakies say that Balfour Blebo, and these Beatons that came from France, went formerly from Ireland, but for this they have no ground to go upon. The MacPhersons who are not the same with the MacPhersons of Badenoch, but are of the O'Docharties in Ireland ; the Bulikes in Caithness, of

* West Highlands and Isles, pp. 24-26.

whom is the laird of Tolingail ; and many other surnames, which, for brevity, we pass over, many of whom had no succession." It is impossible to vouch for the accuracy of a great part of Hugh Macdonald's MS., for the author of it was such an out-and-out partisan, that he scrupled not to write anything calculated to glorify his own immediate chief and name, apparently caring little whether it was true or not. Some of his stories, however, are too interesting to be passed over ; but when not otherwise supported the reader must just take them for what he considers them worth.* He gives the following version of the origin of the Macleans ; the ceremony of proclaiming the Lords of the Isles ; and the manner in which justice was administered in those days in the Western Isles :—" Now Angus Ogg being at Ardhorinish in Morvein, in the time of Lent, Macdougall sent the two sons of Gillian in message to him. To know of these, viz., the sons of Gillian, I will tell you from whence they came, viz., John of Lorn, commonly called John Baccach, who went off to harry Carrick in Galloway, the property of Robert Bruce, afterwards King Robert, and there meeting with one Gillian by name, son of Gilleusa, son of John, son of Gilleusa-More, he came to John

* The editor of the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* adds the following note at the end of the Macdonald MS.—This MS. History of the Lords of the Isles, now for the first time printed, is a very favourable specimen of the productions of the ancient Sennachies. Full of traditional anecdotes, in general wonderfully accurate, they furnish a curious addition to the history of the Scottish Highlands. The Genealogical accounts of the various families contained in these MSS. is, however, frequently full of errors, principally intentional, and arising from the prejudices and active partizanship of the Sennachy, who being always devoted to one particular family, shared his patron's animosity against the Clans with whom he was at feud, and his jealousy of the other families of his own Clan, between whom there existed a rivalry. The Sennachy seldom scrupled to subserve his patron's jealousies, by perverting the history of their families, and this, he, in general, accomplished either by actually perverting the Genealogy, or by an extensive bastardising of the heads of the family, probably proceeding upon a principle not unknown to the present day, that a fact, however notoriously false, if perseveringly asserted for a certain length of time, will at length be received as true. The writer of this MS. was a staunch adherent of the Slate family, and therefore his statements, with regard to the Clans with whom the Clan Donald were at feud, and to the rival branches of that great Clan must be received with great caution. The bastardising of Dugall reputed to be the progenitor of the MacDougalls, is a good illustration of the above remarks, for there is no doubt whatever that he was the eldest legitimate son of Somerled, by his marriage with the daughter of Olave the Red.

Baccach of Lorn in quest of better fortune. Macdougall gave him a spot of land in the Isle of Sael, called Bealach-uain. He had three sons, Hector, of whom descended the family of Lochbuy, and was the oldest; Lachlin (of) whom descended the family of Duairt, and the rest of the name; and a natural son, John, of whom others of the name descended. Now in the Scots language they were called Maclean, from that Gillian that made the first fortune there; but the ancient Scots called them MacGillian. The two sons of Gillian, as related above, were sent ambassadors to Macdonald at Ardhorinish, where, at the time, he held his Lent, as the custom of the time then was. They, after landing, had some conference with Macdonald about the Isle of Mull. Macdonald, denying any of his proper right of lands to Mac, desired MacFinnon, who was master of his household, to use the gentlemen kindly, and to cause them dine alone. MacFinnon caused set before them bread and gruthim, consisting of butter and curds mixed together, which is made in harvest, and preserved until time of Lent. The gruthim was so brittle, that it was not easily taken up with their long knives. Macdonald, coming up at the same time, and perceiving the men at meat in that posture, desired to give them some other sort of meat. MacFinnon replied that if they could not eat that meat as it was, they should put on the nabs of hens, with which they might gather it up easily; which reproachful answer touched the sons of Gillian nearly. Macdonald being that same day to cross the Sound of Mull to Aros, to solemnise the festival of Pasch there, he took a small boat for himself, leaving MacFinnon behind with his great galley and carriage, and the rest of his men. When MacFinnon went to the shore to follow Macdonald, the sons of Gillian, taking the opportunity of revenge, and calling MacFinnon aside, stabbed him, and straight with his galley and their own men followed Macdonald across the Sound, who was not aware of them, thinking it was MacFinnon with his own galley that followed him, till they leaped into the boat wherein he was, and after apprehend-

ing him, made him prisoner, and brought him to Dunstaffnage in Lorn. They remained without. Macdougall being, in the meantime, at dinner, who hearing of their arrival, and that Macdonald was a prisoner with them, said he was glad Macdonald was safe, and was very well pleased to have him his prisoner ; but that Gillian's children were very bold in their attempt, and that he would, through time, bridle their forwardness and insolence. There was a young son of Macdougall's hearing what his father had said. This boy fostered by Gillian and his son, coming out to meet them, told what his father said of them. They being perplexed, and musing what to do in this so precarious an affair, thought best to have recourse to Macdonald, and told him that all men knew that they were of no power or capacity to apprehend him, but by accident ; as it fell out ; and seeing it was so, that he knew if he pleased to do them any good, and forgive them their former crime, he was more in their power than their former master ; that they would join with him, go along with him, and deliver him from the present danger. So taking Macdonald to his own galley again, Macdougall neither seeing him or them ; they went for Mull, taking the Lord of the Isles upon his word, as they might.

“ For he gave four score merks land to Hector the oldest brother, and to Lachlin the youngest he gave the chamberlainship of his house, and made MacFinnon thereafter marshall his army. Now, these made up the surname of Maclean, for they never had a rigg of land but what they received from Macdonald ; to the contrary of which I defy them, or any other, to produce any argument ; yet they were very thankful for the good done them afterwards. When the Macdonalds were in adversity, which happened by their own folly, they became their mortal enemies, as may be seen in the sequel of this history. Angus Ogg of the Isles was a personable, modest man, affable, and not disaffected either to king or state. He created Macguire, or Macquarry, a thane. He had a natural son, John, by Dougall MacHenry's daughter, she being her father's only child.

This John, by his mother, enjoyed the lands of Glencoe, of whom descended the race of the Macdonalds. He had his legitimate son, John, who succeeded him, by O'Kain's daughter. He had not many children that came to age. He had a daughter married to Maclean, and that by her inclination of yielding. Angus died at Isla, and was interred at Icolumnkill. I thought fit to annex the ceremony of proclaiming the Lord of the Isles. At this the Bishop of Argyle, the Bishop of the Isles, and seven priests, were sometimes present, but a bishop was always present, with the chieftians of all the principal families, and a *Ruler of the Isles*. There was a square stone, seven or eight feet long, and the tract of a man's foot cut thereon, upon which he stood, denoting that he should walk in the footsteps and uprightness of his predecessors, and that he was installed by right in his possessions. He was clothed in a white habit, to show his innocence and integrity of heart, that he would be a light to his people, and maintain the true religion. The white apparel did afterwards belong to the poet by right. Then he was to receive a white rod in his hand, intimating that he had power to rule, not with tyranny and partiality, but with discretion and sincerity. Then he received his forefathers' sword, or some other sword, signifying that his duty was to protect and defend them from the incursions of their enemies in peace or war, as the obligations and customs of his predecessors were. The ceremony being over, mass was said after the blessing of the bishop and seven priests, the people pouring their prayer for the success and prosperity of their new created lord. When they were dismissed, the Lord of the Isles feasted them for a week thereafter ; gave liberally to the monks, poets, bards, and musicians. You may judge that they spent liberally without any exception of persons. The constitution or government of the Isles was thus :—Macdonald had his council at Island Finlaggan, in Isla, to the number of sixteen, viz., four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say, lords or sub-thanes, four bastards (*i.e.*), squires or men of competent estates, who could not come up with Armins,

or Thanes, that is, freeholders, or men that had their lands in factory, as Macgee of the Rinds of Isla, MacNicoll in Portree in Sky, and MacEachern, Mackay, and MacGille-vray, in Mull, Macillemhaoel or MacMillan, &c. There was a table of stone where this council sat in the Isle of Finlaggan ; the which table, with the stone on which Macdonald sat, were carried away by Argyle with the bells that were at Icolmkill. Moreover, there was a judge in every Isle for the discussion of all controversies, who had lands from Macdonald for their trouble, and likewise the eleventh part of every action decided. But there might still be an appeal to the Council of the Isles. MacFinnon was obliged to see weights and measures adjusted ; and MacDuffie, or MacPhie of Colonsay, kept the records of the Isles."

Angus Og died at Islay about 1329, and was buried at Icolmkill.

By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Guy O'Cathan, he had an only son and successor. He had also a natural son, John *Fraoch*, by a daughter of Dougall MacHenry, the leading man in Glencoe, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Glencoe.

He was succeeded by his only lawful son,

VII. JOHN, FIRST LORD OF THE ISLES,

Who played a most important part in the turbulent age in which he lived. He is admitted by all the authorities to have been one of the most able and sagacious chiefs of his time ; and, by diplomacy and alliances, more than by the sword, he raised the clan to a position of splendour and power which they had not attained to since the days of Somerled. In his time Scotland was divided and harrassed by various claimants to the crown, the principal of whom were David Bruce and Edward Baliol. John of the Isles supported the latter, more probably with the object of recovering, and maintaining intact, the ancient possessions of his house, than for any pre-

ference he entertained for Baliol and his English supporters. The Island chiefs had always claimed to be independent of the Scottish kings, and naturally enough it seemed to John of the Isles that to aid Baliol against Bruce would be the most effective means of strengthening his own family pretensions. He was quite satisfied that Bruce would not admit the claim to independence of any competitor within his realm ; whereas Baliol, not only entertained his pretensions, but actually confirmed him "as far as in him lay," to the vast territories already possessed by him, as also to an extensive addition, granting him by charter, in 1355, the lands of Mull, Skye, Islay, Gigha, Kintyre, Knapdale, and other large possessions. For these favours John bound himself and his heirs to become lieges to the Baliols ; for he believed that even if they succeeded to establish their claim to the crown he would be practically independent in the Western Isles, and could at any time re-assert the old pretensions of his house. He visited England in 1338, and was well received by Edward III., to whom, it is said, he acknowledged vassalage. John of the Isles and the Regent disputed about the lands granted by Bruce to Angus Og of the Isles, and this was the principal cause of the Island chief having thrown himself into the arms of the Baliol party. The latter, in addition to the lands above-mentioned, granted him the Wardship of Lochaber, until the heir of Athol, at the time only three years of age, attained his majority. These territories had been previously forfeited by the ancestors of the Lord of the Isles on the accession of Robert Bruce. The new grant was confirmed by Edward III. on the 5th of October, 1336. In spite of all this, however, and the great advantages to the Baliol party of securing the support of a powerful chief like John of the Isles, the Regent ultimately succeeded in rescuing Scotland from the dominion and pretensions of Edward of England and his unpatriotic tool, Edward Baliol, finally establishing the independence of his native country.

In 1341, the Steward sent to France for David II., to commence his personal reign in Scotland ; but the Island

chief was too powerful to suffer materially in person or property for his recent disloyalty. Indeed, David on his return considered it the best policy to attach as many of the Scottish barons to his party as possible ; and with this view he concluded a treaty with John of the Isles, by which a temporary peace was secured between them, and in consequence of which the Insular Chief was, for the first time during his whole rule, not in active opposition to the Scottish king. Gregory, referring to these transactions, says that "on the return of David II. from France, after the final discomfiture of Baliol and his supporters, John of the Isles was naturally exposed to the hostility of the Steward and the other nobles of the Scottish party, by whose advice he seems to have been forfeited, when many of his lands were granted to one of his relations, Angus MacIan, progenitor of the house of Ardnamurchan. This grant, however, did not take effect ; and such was the resistance offered by John and his kinsman, Reginald or Ranald, son of Roderick MacAlan (who had been restored, in all probability, by Baliol, to the lands forfeited by his father), and so anxious was David at the time to bring the whole force of his kingdom together in his intended wars with England, that he at length pardoned both these powerful chiefs, and confirmed to them the following possessions :—To John he gave the Isles of Isla, Gigha, Jura, Scarba, Colonsay, Mull, Coll, Tiree, and Lewis, and the districts of Morvern, Lochaber, Duror, and Glenco : to Ranald the Isles of Uist, Barra, Egg, and Rum, and the Lordship of Garmoran, being the original possessions of his family in the North. By this arrangement, Kintyre, Knapdale, and Skye reverted to their former owners, and Lorn remained in the hands of the crown, whilst it is probable that Ardnamurchan was given as a compensation to Angus MacIan." The Lordship of Garmoran comprehended the districts of Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart, on the mainland. Not long after this, Ranald, son of Rory of the Isles, and last male representative of Roderick of Bute, grandson of Somerled of the Isles, was, in 1346, murdered, as already

stated, at Perth by the Earl of Ross, from whom he held lands in Kintail; and, leaving no issue, his sister Amie, who married John of the Isles, in terms of the grant in his favour by David II., became her brother's heir, when her husband, uniting her possessions to his own, assumed henceforth the style of *Dominus Insularum*, or Lord of the Isles. The first recorded instance of the assumption of this title by John of Isla, is in an indenture with the Lord of Lorn, in 1354. "Thus was formed," continues Gregory, "the modern Lordship of the Isles, comprehending the territories of the Macdonalds of Isla, and the Macruaries of the North Isles, and a great part of those of the Macdougalls of Lorn; and although the representative of the latter family was nominally restored to the estates of his ancestors on the occasion of his marriage with a niece of the king, yet he was obliged to leave the Lord of the Isles in possession of such portion of the Lorn estates as had been granted to the latter by David in 1344. The daughter and heiress of John de Ergadia, or Macdugall, the restored Lord of Lorn, carried Lorn proper to her husband, Robert Stewart, founder of the Rosyth family, by whom the Lordship was sold to his brother, John Stewart of Innermeath, ancestor of the Stewarts, Lord of Lorn."

This acquisition of territory added immensely to the power and influence of the Lord of the Isles, and though he was at the time on friendly terms with King David, the Government became concerned as to the consequences of permitting the ancient territories of Somerled to become again united in the person of such an able and powerful chief as the Lord of the Isles. They therefore determined to place every obstacle in his way, and refused to acknowledge him as the rightful heir to Ranald MacRuari of the Isles, and his wife Amie dying soon after, advantage was taken of her death to refuse him a title to her lands, while the Government went the length of asserting that her marriage with the Lord of the Isles, on which his claim was founded, had been irregular, and therefore could not be recognised. This naturally roused the ire of the great

chief; he was again in opposition, and in the ranks of the Baliol party; but the English king having at the same time to direct his attention to the war with France, a treaty was entered into between the Scots and English before the opposition of the Lord of the Isles could produce any consequences detrimental to the Government of Scotland.

Shortly after this a change took place in the character and position of the different factions in Scotland which had the effect once more of detaching the Lord of the Isles from the English interest, and of inducing him to take his natural position among the barons who stood out for the independence of Scotland. Skene describes the state of parties at this period and the ultimate result in a remarkably clear and concise form, and says—Previously to the return of David II. from captivity in England in 1357, the established Government and the principal barons of the kingdom had, with the exception of those periods when Edward Baliol had gained a temporary success, been invariably hostile to the English claims, while it was merely a faction of the nobility, who were in opposition to the Court, that supported the cause of Baliol and of English supremacy. John, from the natural causes arising from his situation, and urged by the continued policy of the Government being directed towards the reduction of his power and influence, was always forced into opposition to the administration, for the time, by which this policy was followed, and when the opposing faction consisted of the adherents of the English interest, the Island Lord was naturally found among them, and was thus induced to enter into treaty with the King of England. On the return of David, however, the situation of parties became materially altered; the King of Scotland now ranked as Edward of England's staunchest adherent, and secretly seconded all his endeavours to overturn the independence of Scotland, while the party which had throughout supported the throne of Scotland and the cause of independence were in consequence thrown into active opposition to

the crown. The natural consequence of this change was that the Lord of the Isles left the party to which he had so long adhered as soon as it became identified with the royal faction, and was thus forced into connection with those with whom he had been for so many years at enmity.

The Steward of Scotland, who was at the head of this party, was of course desirous of strengthening himself by means of alliances with the most powerful barons of the country, and he therefore received the accession of so important a person with avidity, and cemented their union by procuring the marriage of the Lord of the Isles with his own daughter. John now adhered stedfastly to the party of the Steward, and took an active share in all its proceedings, along with the other barons by whom they were joined, but without any open manifestation of force, until the year 1366, when the country was in a state of irritation from the heavy burdens imposed upon the people in order to raise the ransom of their king, and when the jealousy of David towards the Steward had at length broken out so far as to cause the former to throw his own nephew and acknowledged successor to his throne into prison. The northern barons, who belonged to his party, broke out into open rebellion, and refused to pay their proportion of the general taxation, or attend the parliament to which they were frequently summoned. Matters appear to have remained in this state, and the northern chiefs to have actually assumed independence for upwards of two years, until David had at last brought himself to apply to the Steward as the only person capable of restoring peace to the country, and charged him to put down the rebellion.

In consequence of this appeal, the Steward, who was unwilling to be considered as the disturber of the peace of the kingdom, and whose ends were better forwarded by steady opposition to the Court party than by open rebellion, took every means in his power to reduce the insurgent noblemen to obedience; but although he succeeded in obtaining the submission of John of Lorn and Gillespie Campbell, and although the earls of Mar and Ross, with other

northern barons, whose object was gained by the restoration of the Steward to freedom, voluntarily joined him in his endeavours, the Lord of the Isles refused to submit, and, secure in the distance, and in the inaccessible nature of his territories, set the royal power at defiance. But the state of affairs in France soon after requiring the undivided attention of the English king, he was obliged to come to terms with the Scots, and a peace having been concluded between the two countries on the most favourable terms for the latter, the Scottish government was left at liberty to turn its attention wholly towards reducing the Isles to obedience. To accomplish this, David II., well aware of the cause of the rebellion of the Isles, and of the danger of permitting matters to remain in their present position, at length determined, and that with a degree of energy which his character had given little reason to expect, in person to proceed against the rebels, and for this purpose commanded the attendance of the Steward with the barons of the realm. But the Steward, now perceiving that the continuance of the rebellion of the Isles would prove fatal to his party, succeeded by the great influence which he possessed over his son-in-law, in persuading him to meet the king at Inverness, and to submit himself to his authority. The result of this meeting was a treaty entered into between "*Johannes de Yla, dominus insularum*" on the one hand, and "*David, Dei gratia rex Scotorum*" on the other, in which John not only engaged to submit to the royal authority and to take his share of all public burdens, but also to put down all others who dared to raise themselves in opposition to the regal authority. For the fulfilment of this obligation the Lord of the Isles not only gave his oath, but offered his father-in-law, the High Steward, as security, and delivered his lawful son, Donald, by the Steward's daughter, his grandson, Angus, by his eldest lawful son, John, and a natural son, also named Donald, into the hands of the King as hostages.*

* The following is a copy of the famous instrument which will be found at pp. 69-70 of "*Invernessiana*," by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A., Scot., M.P.—

By the accession of Robert Steward to the throne of Scotland, which took place shortly after this event, the

"To all who may see the present letters :—John de Yle, Lord of the Isles, wishes salvation in the Saviour of all. Since my most serene prince and master, the revered lord David, by the Grace of God, illustrious King of Scots, has been stirred up against my person because of certain faults committed by me, for which reason, coming humbly to the presence of my said lord, at the Town of Inverness, on the 15th day of the month of November, in the year of grace 1369, in the presence of the prelates, and of very many of the nobles of his kingdom, I offered and submitted myself to the pleasure and favour of my said master, by suppliantly entreating for favour and for the remission of my late faults, and since my said lord, at the instance of his council, has graciously admitted me to his goodwill and favour, granting besides that I may remain in (all) my possessions whatsoever and not be removed, except according to the process and demand of law : Let it be clearly patent to you all, by the tenor of these presents, that I, John de Yle, foresaid, promise and covenant, in good faith, that I shall give and make reparation to all good men of this kingdom whatsoever, for such injuries, losses, and troubles as have been wrought by me, my sons, or others whose names are more fully set forth in the royal letters of remission granted to me, and to whomsoever of the kingdom as are faithful I shall thus far make the satisfaction concluded for, and I shall justly note purchased lands and superiorities, and I shall govern them according to my ability ; I shall promptly cause my sons and my subjects, and others my adherents, to be in peaceable subjection, and that due justice shall be done to our lord the King, and to the laws and customs of his kingdom, and that they shall be obedient to, and shall appear before the justiciars, sheriffs, coroners, and other royal servants in each sheriffdom, even better and more obediently than in the time of Robert of good memory, the predecessor of my lord the King, and as the inhabitants of the said lands and superiorities have been accustomed to do. They shall answer, both promptly and dutifully, to the royal servants what is imposed regarding contributions and other burdens and services due, and also for the time past, and in the event that within the said lands or superiorities any person or persons shall offend against the King, or one or more of his faithful servants, and if he or they shall despise to obey the law, or if he or they shall be unwilling to obey in the premises, and in any one of the premises, I shall immediately, entirely laying aside stratagem and deceit, pursue that person or those persons as enemies, and as rebels of the King and kingdom, with all my ability, until he or they shall be expelled from the limits of the lands and superiorities, or I shall make him or them obey the common law : And for performing, implementing, and faithfully observing these things, all and each, I personally have taken the oath in presence of the foresaid prelates and nobles, and besides I have given and surrendered the under-written hostages, viz., Donald, my son, begotten of the daughter of the Lord Seneschal of Scotland, Angus, son of my late son John, and one Donald, another and natural son of mine, whom, because at the time of the completion of this present deed, I have not, at present, ready and prepared, I shall cause them to go into, or to be given up at the Castle of Dumbarton, at the feast of our Lord's birth now next to come, if I shall be able otherwise on this side, or at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (or Candlemas, 2d February) next following thereafter, under pain of the breach of the oath given, and under pain of the loss of all things which, with regard to the lord our King, I shall be liable to lose, in whatever manner. And for securing the entrance of these hostages as promised, I have found my Lord Seneschal of Scotland, Earl of Strathern, security, whose seal for the purpose of the present security, and also for the greater evidence of the matter is appended, along with my own proper seal, to these presents in testimony of the premises. Acted and given, year, day, and place foresaid."

Lord of the Isles was once more brought into close connection with the crown, and, as John remained during the whole of this reign in a state of as great tranquillity as his father Angus had done during that of Robert Bruce, the policy of thus connecting these turbulent chiefs with the Government by the ties of friendship and alliance, rather than that of attempting to reduce them to obedience by force, became very manifest. King Robert, no doubt, saw clearly enough the advantages of following the advice left by Robert Bruce, for the guidance of his successors, not to allow the great territories and extensive influence of these Island lords ever again to be concentrated in the person of one individual ; but the claims of John were too great to be overlooked, and, accordingly, Robert had been but one year on the throne, when John obtained from him a feudal title to all those lands which had formerly belonged to Ranald, the son of Roderick, and which had been so long refused to him.

In order, however, to neutralise in some degree the effect of thus investing one individual with a feudal title to such extensive territories, and believing himself secure in the attachment of John during his lifetime, King Robert, since he could not prevent the accumulation of so much property in one family, determined, by bringing about division among its different branches, to sow the seed of future discord, and eventually perhaps the ruin of the race. He found little difficulty in persuading John, in addition to the usual practice in that family of gavelling the lands among a numerous offspring, to render the children of the two marriages *feudally* independent of each other—a fatal measure, the consequences of which John did not apparently foresee ; and, accordingly, in the third year of his reign, King Robert confirmed a charter by John to Reginald, the second surviving son of the first marriage, of the lands of Garmoran, which John had acquired by his marriage with Reginald's mother, to be held of John's heirs ; that is to say, of the descendants of the eldest son of the first marriage, of whom one had been given as a hostage in 1369, and

who would, of course, succeed to the whole of John's possessions not feudally destined to other quarters. Some years afterwards John resigned a great part of the Western portion of his territories, consisting principally of the lands of Lochaber, Kintyre, and Knapdale, with the Island of Colonsay, into the King's hands, and received from him charters of these lands in favour of himself and his heirs by the marriage with the King's daughter ; thus rendering the children of the second marriage feudally independent of those of the first, and furnishing a subject for contention between these families which could not fail to lead to their ruin.*

The regularity of the first marriage has been questioned, but its perfect legitimacy is now placed beyond question by the discovery of a dispensation by the Pope, dated 1337, permitting the marriage, as the parties were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity allowed by the Church. On this point Gregory, Skene, Smibert, and indeed all the best authorities are at one ; and the first wife was divorced, from anything that can be ascertained, without any just reasons or any real cause of complaint against her good and faithful conduct. Gregory considers it highly probable that a secret understanding had been arrived at between the Steward and the Lord of the Isles before the latter divorced his first wife and married the daughter of the Steward, that, at the death of King David, the Steward would ascend the throne, supported by the Island Lord, under the title of Robert II. ; and certain it is, he says, that after that event the destination of the Lordship of the Isles was altered so as to cause it to descend to the grandchildren of the King. Aware that his rights to Garmoran and the North Isles were annulled by the divorce of his first wife, the Lord of the Isles, disregarding her claims, and trusting to the influence of the King, his father-in-law, procured a royal charter of the lands in question, in which her name was not even mentioned. Godfrey the eldest son, by the first wife, resisted these unjust proceedings, maintaining his mother's

* *Highlanders of Scotland*, by W. F. Skene, pp. 64-70.

prior claims, and his own as her heir ; but Ranald, the younger brother, being more pliant, was rewarded by a grant of the North Isles, Garmoran, and many other lands, to hold of John, Lord of the Isles, *and his heirs*.*

When the Steward ascended the throne as Robert II., one of his first Acts of Parliament was to confirm his "beloved son John of the Isles," in the possession of the Scottish heritage of the house of Somerled, except a portion of Argyle, Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart, on the mainland. Uist, Barra, Rum, Egg, and Harris, in the Western Isles, were confirmed or assigned to him and his heirs by royal charter, dated at Scone, on the 9th March, 1371-2. By the charter granted in his favour by David II. on the 12th June, 1344, he, in addition to securing the lands already named, was made keeper of the "King's Castles of Kernoburgh, Iselborogh, and Dunchonnal, with the lands and small Islands thereto belonging, to be held by the said John, and his heirs, in fee and heritage." In 1354 he entered into an indenture with John of Lorn, Lord of Argyle, by which the latter gave up his ancient claims to these castles and lands, in favour of John of the Isles, as also his rights to the Islands of Mull, Jura, and Tiree. In the same year he was one of the four great barons of Scotland named as securities for the observance of the Treaty of Newcastle, and as the other three barons named were the Steward of Scotland, afterwards Robert II., the Lord of Douglas, and Thomas of Moray, it is clear that he was selected on that occasion as one of the most powerful chiefs of his time in all Scotland. On the 31st of March, 1356, Edward III. of England issued a commission to treat directly with the Island chief, and in the treaty for the liberation of David II., entered into on the 3rd of October in the following year, by which also an "inviolable truce" for ten years between England and Scotland was agreed upon, the Lord of the Isles was specially mentioned. In 1362 he obtained a confirmation of all donations and concessions

* Western Highlands and Isles, pp. 30-31.

by whosoever made to him, and of whatsoever lands, tenements, annual rents, and other possessions held by him.

The haughty temper of the Western chief is well illustrated by an anecdote told in Hugh Macdonald's MS.—“When John of the Isles was to be married, some of his followers and familiars advised him to behave courteously before the King, and to uncover himself as others did. He said (that) he did not well know how the King should be revered, for all the men he ever saw should reverence himself”; and to get over the difficulty, he “threw away his cap, saying he would wear none,” and thus there would be no necessity to humiliate himself by taking it off before the King.

There is now no doubt whatever that John, first Lord of the Isles, married first, as his lawful wife, Amie, sole representative and heiress of the MacRuari branch of the Siol Cuinn, and that among his descendants by this marriage, we must look for the representative of the elder branch, and therefore for the chiefs of the line of Somerled of the Isles; while it is equally true that the family of Sleat represent the last Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles. There is, at the same time, no doubt that Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, although not the chief of the family by right of blood, became the actual feudal superior of his brothers. On this point Gregory is emphatic, and says “Donald, the eldest son of the second marriage, became on his father's death, second Lord of the Isles, and in that capacity was most undoubtedly, feudal superior and actual chief of his brothers, whether of the full or half blood.” We shall therefore treat the Lords of the Isles as the first and most important line, in the following pages.

By his marriage with Amie, heiress of the MacRuaries, “the good John of Isla” had issue—

1. John, who died before his father, leaving one son, Angus, who died without issue.

2. Godfrey, of Uist and Garmoran, whose descendants are said to be extinct.

2. Ranald, or Reginald, progenitor of Glengarry, and of all the Macdonalds claiming to be ClanRanalds. These shall be dealt with in their order.

4. Mary, said to have married, first, one of the Macleans of Duart, and, secondly, Maclean of Coll.

He married, secondly, Lady Margaret, daughter of Robert, High Steward of Scotland, afterwards King Robert II., and first of the Stewart dynasty. By this lady he had—

5. Donald, who succeeded as second Lord of the Isles.

6. John Mor Tanastair, of Isla, ancestor of the Earls of Antrim, Macdonalds of Sanda, and several other important families.

7. Alexander, Lord of Lochaber, known as “Alastair Carrach,” progenitor of the family of Keppoch, Dalchoisnie, and others, of whom in their order.

He had also a natural son, Donald, one of the hostages named in the treaty of 1369 already quoted.

Gregory says that John died in 1380, while Skene places his death about 1386. His death took place at his castle of Ardtornish in Morven ; and he was buried in the sacred precincts of Iona, “with great splendour,” by the ecclesiastics of the Isles, whose attachment he secured by liberal donations to the Church, and who evinced their gratitude by naming him “the good John of Isla,” a designation handed down by tradition to modern times.

He was succeeded in his possessions, and in the Lordship of the Isles, by his eldest son by the second marriage,

VIII. DONALD, SECOND LORD OF THE ISLES,

Better known in history as “Donald of Harlaw,” the eldest son by his father’s second marriage, who became feudal superior of the children by the first marriage, as already described. This chief possessed no small share of his father’s spirit. He was a man of distinguished ability, and, though so closely connected with the throne, he resolved to gain complete independence, like his ancestors,

for the Island kingdom. The more easily to gain his purpose he entered into an alliance with the English against his own country and king, a proceeding which can only be justified on the plea that, like his predecessors, he considered himself an independent Prince, owing no allegiance to the Scottish king for the territories held by the race of Somerled in the north-west Highlands and Isles. This contention was, however, clearly untenable, for in point of fact he only possessed his lands, as the eldest son of the *second* marriage, by a charter from the crown, in the absence of which these possessions would have gone to the children of the first marriage, who only could, on that plea, claim to be independent princes. Be that as it may, it is undisputed that the second Lord of the Isles is found, in the year 1388, shortly after the death of his father, negotiating with Richard II. of England on the footing of an independent Prince. Twelve years later we find him visiting England under a safe-conduct dated 2nd June, 1400, granted in his favour by Henry IV., and treaties exist, entered into between him and that monarch, dated respectively 1405 and 1408. By the first, dated June 2nd, Donald de Insulis, and John, his brother, are allowed to come into England with 100 horse; while on the 16th September, 1405, Henry IV. issued a commission for treating with Donald de Insulis, Chevalier, and John, his brother, about a final peace, alliance, and friendship between them and his Majesty. The same proceeding is repeated under date of 8th May, 1408.

A few years later Donald raised the flag of rebellion, and conducted himself in a manner, and exhibited a power and capacity, which shook the throne and the government almost to their very foundations. He had married Lady Mary Leslie, only daughter of the Countess of Ross. Alexander, Earl of Ross, her only brother, married Isabella Stewart, daughter of the Regent, Robert Duke of Albany, by which union he had an only child, Euphemia, who became a nun, and resigned her estates and dignities in favour of her grandfather and her uncle John, Earl of

Buchan, second son of the Duke of Albany, and his heirs male, whom failing, to return to the Crown, thus cutting off Lady Margaret, the wife of Donald, who was the heir general. Skene says that Euphemia, on taking the veil, committed the government of her earldom to the governor, when Donald saw that if Albany was permitted to retain actual possession of the Earldom, he would be unable to recover it in right of his wife from that crafty nobleman. He accordingly proceeded to take possession, contending that Euphemia, by taking the veil, had become in a legal point of view, dead; and that the Earldom belonged to him in right of his wife. His demand that he should on these grounds be put in possession of it was opposed by the Governor, whose principal object appears to have been to prevent the accession of so vast a district as the ancient Earldom of Ross to the extensive territories of the Lord of the Isles, already too powerful to be kept in check by the Government. The Governor was actuated more by what would most conduce to the security of the Government than by any question as to whether the claims of the Lord of the Isles were in themselves just or not. Donald was not the man, however, who would patiently brook such unjust refusal of his rights; and no sooner did he receive an unfavourable denial of his demands than he collected all the forces he could command, amounting to about ten thousand men, with whom he invaded the Earldom. He appears to have met with no resistance from the people of Ross; and soon obtained possession of that district; but on his arrival at Dingwall he was met by Angus Dubh Mackay, in command of a large body of men from Sutherland, who, after a fierce attack, was completely routed by the Lord of the Isles; and Angus Dubh himself was taken prisoner. "Donald was now in complete possession of the Earldom, but his subsequent proceedings showed that the nominal object of his expedition was but a cover to ulterior designs; for, leaving the district of Ross, he swept through Moray, and penetrated into Aberdeenshire, at the head of his whole army. Here he was met at the village of Harlaw by the

Earl of Mar, at the head of an inferior army in point of numbers, but composed of Lowland gentlemen, who were better armed and better disciplined than the Highland followers of Donald. It was on the 24th July, 1411, that the celebrated battle of Harlaw was fought, upon the issue of which seemed to depend the question of whether the Gaelic or Teutonic part of the population of Scotland were in future to have the supremacy."*

The following description of the engagement is given in a recent work :—Mar soon saw that he had to contend with tremendous odds ; but, although his forces were, it is said, only a tenth of those opposed to him, he resolved, from the confidence he had in his steel-clad knights, to risk a battle. Having placed a small but select body of knights and men-at-arms in front, under the command of the constable of Dundee and the Sheriff of Angus, the Earl drew up the main strength of his army in the rear, including the Murrays, the Straitons, the Maules, the Irvings, the Lesleys, the Lovels, the Stirlings, headed by their respective chiefs. The Earl then placed himself at the head of this body. At the head of the Islemen and Highlanders was the Lord of the Isles, subordinate to whom were Mackintosh and Maclean, and other Highland chiefs, all bearing the most deadly hatred to their Saxon foes, and panting for revenge.

On a signal being given, the Highlanders and Islemen, setting up those terrific shouts and yells which they were accustomed to raise on entering into battle, rushed forward upon their opponents ; but they were received with great firmness and bravery by the knights, who with their spears levelled, and battle-axes raised, cut down many of their impetuous but badly armed adversaries. After the Lowlanders had recovered themselves from the shock which the furious onset of the Highlanders had produced, Sir James Scrymgeour, at the head of the knights and bannerets who fought under him, cut his way through the thick columns of the Islemen, carrying death everywhere

* Highlanders of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 71-73.

around him ; but the slaughter of hundreds by this brave party did not intimidate the Highlanders, who kept pouring in by thousands to supply the places of those who had fallen. Surrounded on all sides, no alternative remained for Sir James and his valorous companions but victory or death, and the latter was their lot. The Constable of Dundee was amongst the first who suffered, and his fall so encouraged the Highlanders, that seizing and stabbing the horses, they thus unhorsed their riders, whom they despatched with their daggers. In the meantime the Earl of Mar, who had penetrated with his main army into the very heart of the enemy, kept up the unequal contest with great bravery, and, although he lost during the action almost the whole of his army, he continued the fatal struggle with a handful of men till night-fall. The disastrous result of this battle was one of the greatest misfortunes which had ever happened to the numerous respectable families in Angus and the Mearns. Many of these families lost not only their head, but every male in the house. Lesley of Balquhain is said to have fallen with six of his sons. Besides Sir James Scrymgeour, Sir Alexander Ogilvy, the Sheriff of Angus, with his eldest son, George Ogilvy ; Sir Thomas Murray, Sir Robert Maule of Panmure, Sir Alexander Irving of Drum, Sir William Abernethy of Salton, Sir Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, James Lovel, Alexander Stirling, and Sir Robert Davidson, Provost of Aberdeen, with 500 men-at-arms, including the principal gentry of Buchan, and the greater part of the burgesses of Aberdeen, who followed their Provost, were amongst the slain. The Highlanders left 900 men dead on the field of battle, including the Chiefs of Maclean and Mackintosh.* This memorable battle was fought on the eve of the feast of St. James the Apostle, July 25, 1411. It was the final contest for supremacy between the Celt and the Teuton, and appears to have made at the time an inconceivably deep impression on the national mind.

* This is incorrect, Mackintosh lived for many years after the date of the battle of Harlaw.

The Lord of the Isles retreated, without molestation from the enemy, and was allowed to recruit his exhausted strength. As soon, however, as the news of the disaster reached the ears of the Duke of Albany, then Regent of Scotland, he set about collecting an army with which he marched in person to the north in the autumn, determined to bring the Lord of the Isles to obedience. Having taken possession of the Castle of Dingwall, he appointed a governor, and from thence proceeded to recover the whole of Ross. Donald retreated before him, and took up his winter quarters in the Islands. Hostilities were renewed next summer, but the contest was not long or doubtful—notwithstanding some little advantages obtained by the Lord of the Isles—for he was compelled to give up his claim to the Earldom of Ross, to become a vassal to the Scottish crown, and to deliver hostages to secure his future good behaviour.*

Gregory states that the whole array of the Lordship of the Isles followed Donald on that occasion, and that consequently he was not weakened by any opposition such as might be expected on the part of his elder brothers or his descendants, though Ranald, “the youngest but most favoured son of the first marriage of the good John, was, as the seannachies tell us, ‘old in the government of the Isles, at his father’s death,’” and though he also acted as tutor or guardian to his younger brother Donald, now Lord of the Isles, to whom, on attaining his majority, he delivered over the Lordship, in the presence of the vassals, “contrary to the opinion of the men of the Isles,” who doubtless considered Godfrey, the eldest son of the first marriage, as their proper lord. If the opinion of the Islanders was at first in favour of Godfrey, the liberality and other distinguished characteristics of Donald seem in a very short time to have reconciled them to his rule, for “there is no trace after this time of any opposition among them to Donald or his descendants”. And “as the claim of ‘Donald of Harlaw’ to the Earldom of Ross, in right of his wife,

* Fullarton’s History of the Highland Clans.

was after his death virtually admitted by King James I., and as Donald himself was actually in possession of that Earldom and acknowledged by the vassals in 1411, he may without impropriety be called the first Earl of Ross of his family.”*

According to Buchanan, “there fell so many eminent and noble personages as scarce ever perished in one battle against a foreign enemy for many years before”. The following is from Hugh Macdonald:—“This Alexander (Earl of Ross), who was married to the Duke of Albany’s daughter, left no issue but one daughter, named Eupheme. She being very young, the Governor, her grandfather, took her to his own family, and having brought her up, they persuaded her by flattery and threats to resign her rights of the Earldom of Ross to John, his second son, Earl of Buchan, as it was given out, and that much against her will. But others were of opinion she did not resign her rights; but thereafter she was bereaved of her life, as most men thought, by the contrivance of the Governor. Donald, Lord of the Isles, claimed right to the Earldom of Ross, but could get no other hearing from the Governor but lofty menacing answers, neither could he get a sight of the rights which Lady Eupheme gave to his son John. The Governor thought that his own strength and sway could carry everything according to his pleasure in the kingdom, still hoping for the crown, the true heir thereof (James I., nephew to the Duke of Albany) being prisoner in England. He likewise was at enmity with the Lord of the Isles, because Sir Adam Moor’s daughter† was his

* Western Highlands and Isles, pp. 31-32.

† The author of the “Macdonnells of Antrim” says, in a footnote, pp. 17-18, regarding this lady, who was the grandmother of both the claimants:—Elizabeth More or Muir, was a lady of the well-known Rowallan family, in the parish of Kilmarnock, her father, Sir Adam Muir, being the fifth in descent from David de Moore, the founder of that house early in the thirteenth century. There had formerly existed considerable doubt as to the reality of the marriage between Robert II. and Elizabeth Muir, and all the earlier Scottish historians down even to Buchanan, supposed that their union had not been legalised by marriage. The author of the *Historie of James the sixth*, however, after quoting from a pedigree of the Muirs of Rowallan, says that “Robert, great Steward of Scotland having taken

grandmother, knowing full well that he would own the true heir's cause against him. The Lord of the Isles told the Governor he would either lose all he had or gain the Earldom of Ross, to which he had such a good title. The Duke replied—he wished Donald would be so forward as to stick to what he said. Donald immediately raised the best of his men, to the number of 10,000, and chose out of them 6600, turning the rest of them to their homes. They thought first they would fight near to Inverness; but, because the Duke and his army came not, Donald's army marched through Murray, and over the Spey. The Governor, Alexander Stewart, Earl of Murray, and John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the Governor's son, having gathered an army of 9700 men, desired the Lord of the Isles to stay, and that they would meet him near Inverness and give him battle; but he would not leave his own men foraging in his own county of Ross. Therefore he marched forward, resolving to take his hazard near their doors, assuring himself of victory. Huntly, who was Macdonald's friend, sent him a private message, desiring him to commit no hostilities in his country, by the way of assuring him, he would not own the Governor's quarrels, and wishing Mac-

away the said Elizabeth, drew to Sir Adame, her father, ane instrument that he should take her to his lawful wyfe, which *myself hath seene*, said the collector (of the pedigree, Mr John Lermouth), as also ane testimonie, written in Latine by Roger M'Adame, priest of our Ladie Marie's Chapell." A charter granted by Robert II., in 1364, proves that Elizabeth Muir was the *first* wife of that King, and refers to a dispensation granted by the Pope for the marriage. This charter was published in 1694, by one Mr Lewis Innes, Principal of the Scot's College at Paris. The dispensation from Rome referred to in the charter of 1364, was long sought for after the lady's death, and was not found until the year 1789, when it and a dispensation for the King's marriage with Euphemia Ross, his last wife, were discovered together. There exists also another charter by David II., "to Robert, great Steward of Scotland, of the lands of Kintyre; and to John Stewart his son, gotten betwixt him and Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Adam Moore, knight, and failzeing of him, to Walter, his second brother." Elizabeth Muir is said to have been a very beautiful woman, and to have captivated the High Steward during the unquiet times of Edward Baliol, when the former was often obliged to seek safety in concealment. It is supposed that Dundonald Castle was the "scene of King Robert's early attachment and nuptials with the fair Elizabeth". From this union are descended, through their daughter, Margaret Stewart, the Macdonnells of Antrim; and through their sons, not only the race of our British sovereigns, but also of several crowned heads in Europe. For an account of the Muirs of Rowallan, see Paterson's *Parishes and Families of Ayrshire*, vol. ii., pp. 182-194.

donald good success, and desiring him to be of good courage. The Lord of the Isles went forward till both armies met at Harlaw, a place in Garioch in the Braes of Buchan. There came several in the Governor's army out of curiosity to see Macdonald and his Highlanders routed, as they imagined; others came to be rewarded by the Governor, as they did not expect to see any other king, in all appearance, but he and his offspring; others came through fear of the Duke's great authority. Macdonald set his men in order of battle as follows. He commanded himself the main battle, where he kept most of the Islanders, and with the Macleods, John of Harris and Roderick of the Lewis. He ordered the rest to the wings, the right commanded by Hector Roy Maclean, and the left by Callum Beg Mackintosh, who that day received from Macdonald a right of the lands of Glengarry in Lochaber, by way of pleasing him for yielding the right wing to Maclean, and to prevent any quarrel between him and Maclean. Mackintosh said he would take the lands, and make the left behave as well as the right. John More, Donald's brother, was placed with a detachment of the lightest and nimblest men as a reserve, either to assist the wings or main battle, as occasion required. To him was joined Mackenzie and Donald Cameron of Locheill. Allister Carrick was young, and therefore was much against his will set apart, lest the whole of his brothers should be hazarded at once. The Earls of Mar and Buchan ordered their men in a main battle and two small fronts; the right front was commanded by Lords Marishall and Erroll, the left by Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Sheriff of Angus. They encountered one another; their left wing was forced by Maclean, and the party on Macdonald's right was forced to give way. There was a great fold for keeping cattle behind them, into which they went. The Earl of Mar was forced to give ground, and that wing was quite defeated. Mar and Erroll posted to Aberdeen, the rest of Macdonald's men followed the chase. There were killed on the Governor's side 2550. The Lord Marishall was apprehended safe, and died in his

confinement of mere grief and despair. Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus, was killed, with seven knights, and several other gentlemen. On Macdonald's side Maclean fell ; he and Irvin of Drum fought together till the one killed the other. Drum's two brothers, with the principal men of that surname, were killed, so that a boy of that name, who herded the cattle, succeeded to the estate of Drum. Two or three gentlemen of the name of Munroe were slain, together with the son of Macquarry of Ulva, and two gentlemen of the name of Cameron. On Macdonald's side were lost in all 180. This battle was fought anno 1411. Macdonald had burnt Aberdeen had not Huntly dissuaded him from it, saying that by his victory, in all appearance, he gained his own, yet it was ridiculous in him to destroy the town, and that the citizens would always join with him who had the upper hand. Now, to prove these fabulous and partial writers, particularly Buchanan, it is well known to several men of judgment and knowledge that Macdonald had the victory there, and gained the Earldom of Ross, for four or five generations thereafter, and that Mackintosh, whom they say was killed, lived twenty years thereafter, and was with the Earl of Mar when Alexander Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, was captive at Tantallon, in the battle fought at Inverlochy against Donald Balloch, Alexander's cousin-german. This Donald Balloch was son to John More, brother to Donald of the Isles and Earl of Ross. Now, it happened that this same Callum Beg Mackintosh was with King James I. after his releasement from his captivity in England, in the same place where the battle was fought. The King asked him how far they followed the chase ? Mackintosh replied that they followed it farther than his Majesty thought. So the King riding on a pretty pace, asked Mackintosh if they came that length ? He answering, said, in his opinion, there was a heap of stones before them, and that he left there a mark to show that he followed the chase that length ; and with that he brought a man's arm with its gauntlet out of the heap. The King, beholding it, desired him to be

with him that night at Aberdeen. The King upon his arrival there, Mackintosh going to his lodgings, said in presence of the bystanders, that he had performed his word to the King, and now he would betake himself to his own lodgings; whereupon he immediately left the town, for he dreaded the King would apprehend him. Patrick, Earl of Tullibardin, said as other noblemen were talking of the battle of Harlaw, we know that Macdonald had the victory, *but the Governor had the printer*.*

Summing up a description and the consequences of this famous engagement, Burton, with his characteristic hatred of the Highlanders, must of course call the result of this battle a "defeat" for the Islanders, and says—"So ended one of Scotland's most memorable battles. The contest between the Lowlanders and Donald's host was a contest between foes, of whom their contemporaries would have said that their ever being in harmony with each other, or having a feeling of common interests and common nationality was not within the range of rational expectations. . . . It will be difficult to make those not familiar with the tone of feeling in Lowland Scotland at that time believe that the defeat of Donald of the Isles was felt as a more memorable deliverance than even that of Bannockburn."†

We learn from the MS. History of the Mackintoshes quoted by Charles Fraser-Mackintosh in "Invernessiana" that:—In this war Malcolm, or Callum Beg, Chief of Mackintosh, "lost many of his friends, particularly James Mackintosh (Shaw) of Rothiemurchus," who must have been confused with the Chief himself, though the latter, in point of fact, lived until about 1457.‡

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, pp. 300-2.

† Vol. iii., pp. 101-102.

‡ In 1412, according to the accounts of the great chamberlain of Scotland "payment is made to Lord Alexander, Earl of Mar, for various labours and expenses incurred in the war against the Lord of the Isles for the utility of the whole kingdom of £122 7s. 4d.; and also to him for the construction of a fortalice at Inverness, for the utility of the kingdom, against said Lord of the Isles, £100; and for lime to Inverness for the construction of said fortalice, and for food and the carriage of

It has been generally supposed that the resignation of the Earldom of Ross by Euphemia the nun in favour of her grandfather, Robert, Duke of Albany, was the sole and immediate cause of the battle ; but the actual date of the instrument of resignation is 1415—four years afterwards ; and Skene thinks that the securing of the resignation of the earldom in his favour at that date was rather an attempt on the part of Albany to give a colour of justice to his retention of what he was, by the result of the battle of Harlaw, enabled to keep in his possession. There is no doubt that his claim on the earldom was the ostensible cause of the invasion by the Lord of the Isles, but the readiness with which that claim was given up in the following summer, by a treaty concluded with the Governor at Port-Gilp, in Argyleshire—on which occasion Donald not only gave up the earldom, but agreed to become a vassal of the Crown, and to deliver hostages for his future good behaviour, while he might easily have kept possession of Ross—clearly indicate that the invasion was but a part of a much more extensive scheme for which the claim to the earldom served as a very good excuse, and that upon the failure of the more extensive scheme, the claim for the earldom was, with little ado, given up. This becomes the more apparent if we keep in mind the treaty between Donald and Henry IV. of England, dated 1408, above referred to ; and that no sooner was the civil war in Scotland concluded than a truce was agreed upon between England and Scotland for a period of six years. Gregory is of the same opinion, and says (p. 32)—“After the death of John, Lord of the Isles, we discover various indications of the intrigues of the English Court with the Scottish Islanders had been assumed ; and it is not altogether improbable that it was a suspicion of these treasonable practices which caused the Regent, Robert of Albany, to oppose the pretensions of Donald, Lord of the Isles, to the

wood, £32 10s. 3d. In 1414 payment is made to Lord Alexander, Earl of Mar, in consideration of his divers labours and expenses about the castle of Inverness, of £52 11s. 3d.”

Earldom of Ross. But although English emissaries were on various occasions dispatched, not only to the Lord of the Isles himself, but to his brothers Godfrey and John—and two of the brothers even appear to have visited the English Court—we cannot, at this distance of time, ascertain how far these intrigues were carried.” The fatal policy of taking part with England against Scotland in the quarrels of those kingdoms was continued by Donald’s successors until the power of the Lord of the Isles was finally broken up ; and his grandson, as will be seen, by the same unpatriotic conduct brought on the downfall of his house sooner than it would otherwise have come.

Donald, second Lord of the Isles, married Lady Mary Leslie (daughter of Sir Walter Leslie, by Euphemia, Countess of Ross, in favour of whose marriage there is a dispensation dated 1367), who became Countess of Ross in her own right when her niece resigned the earldom and adopted the veil. By this marriage the Lord of the Isles had issue—

1. Alexander, who succeeded as Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross.

2. Angus, Bishop of the Isles.

3. Mariot, who married Alexander Sutherland, and to whom “her brother Alexander, in 1429, gave the lands of Duchall, to her and her husband, Alexander Sutherland, as appears from the grant of the same in the possession of Sinclair of Roslin”.*

He died, according to Findon, in 1423 ; to Gregory, “circa 1420” ; while Hugh Macdonald the Seannachie, though not mentioning the year of his death, says that he “died at Ardhorinish, in Morvairn, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was buried at Icolmkill, after the rites and ceremonies of his predecessors”. He was succeeded in the Lordship of the Isles, and, a few years later, in the Earldom of Ross, by his eldest son,

* Wood’s Douglas’s Peerage.

IX. ALEXANDER, THIRD LORD OF THE ISLES.

After the death of his mother, Countess of Ross in her own right, he became Earl of Ross. The title was acknowledged in 1430 by the Crown, though his father had given up all claims to it by the treaty of Port-Gilp already referred to. It is open to question, whether Donald of Harlaw was really entitled to style himself Earl of Ross, though he undoubtedly possessed, in right of his wife, the territory comprising the Earldom, notwithstanding that Skene is of opinion that Donald may fairly be considered the first Earl of Ross of the race of Somerled. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that Alexander was not only styled Earl of Ross, but acknowledged as such by the Crown, in right of his mother.

He was a man of great spirit and marked ability, and, like his father and grandfather, became ambitious to found a Celtic kingdom of the Isles, the sovereignty of which should be in his family. At the time, however, Scotland was ruled by James I., exhibiting kingly talents of a high order, and a resolution to bring his rebellious vassals, however powerful, to submission. In this he was ultimately successful, even in the case of the Lord of the Isles, though, at first, more by clever strategy than by actual force of arms. The King, who possessed remarkable energy, decision of character, and unsurpassed personal bravery, determined to break down the independence and power of the turbulent Island and West Highland Lords, and, collecting a large force, he, in 1427, marched to Inverness accompanied by his principal nobles, with an army which made resistance on the part of the Highlanders quite unavailing. On his arrival he summoned his barons, including the Highland chiefs, to attend a parliament. Even the Lord of the Isles, seeing the power and splendour of the King, thought it prudent to obey; and, with most of the Northern barons, he proceeded to meet him in the Highland Capital. As the chiefs entered the hall in

which parliament was assembled, each of the haughty nobles was immediately arrested, and placed in irons in different parts of the building, not one being permitted to communicate with any of the others. Among the prisoners were Alexander of the Isles ; his mother the Countess of Ross ; Alexander of Garmoran, and several of the most powerful chiefs in the Highlands. It is recorded that the King exhibited marks of great joy as he saw those powerful Highland Lords marching into the toils which he had so treacherously prepared for them. Alexander of Garmoran, was tried, convicted, and adjudged to be decapitated on the spot, and his whole possessions forfeited to the crown, while most of the others were sent to different castles and strongholds throughout the kingdom, until the majority of them were afterwards condemned to different kinds of death ; while a few were set at liberty after various terms of imprisonment. Among the latter was Alexander of the Isles. It is impossible to defend the mean and treacherous conduct of the King, however brave or otherwise distinguished, but Hill Burton makes the attempt ; while telling us that "It is useless to denounce such acts," he makes an admission which is not altogether inapplicable to the present day :—That "there was no more notion of keeping faith with the 'Irishry,' whether of Ireland or Scotland, than with the beast of prey lured to his trap ;" after which he proceeds to say that those whom it was deemed fitting to get rid of were put to death, and that nothing remains to show that there was even the ceremonial of a trial.*

The Earldom of Ross, which had been procured by Robert, Duke of Albany, for his son, John Stewart, Earl of Buchan, on its resignation at Port-Gilp by Donald of Harlaw, fell to the Crown, in 1424, by the death of the Earl of Buchan, killed in that year at the battle of Verneuil in France ; whereupon the King at once restored it to the heiress of line, the mother of Alexander of the Isles. In 1425, Alexander of the Isles and "Master of the Earldom of Ross," sat upon the jury which condemned to death

* History of Scotland, vol. ii., 402 ; 1876.

the enemy of his house, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, his two sons, and the Earl of Lennox, for the murder of Rothesay. He does not appear, however, to have long continued in favour at Court, and it may be interesting to have Gregory's opinion of the influences which led Alexander at that time into opposition to the King. It has been mentioned, he says, that Godfrey, Lord of Uist, on the death of his younger brother, Ranald, asserted successfully his claim to the North Isles and Garmoran, from which he had been unjustly excluded by his father. Both Godfrey and Ranald left male issue who must naturally have been opposed to each other, like their fathers; but the meagre notices we possess of the domestic feuds in the Highlands and Isles at this period, do not enable us to trace the progress of these dissensions. It may be readily conceived, however, that where such a prize was in dispute, much blood would be shed and many atrocities committed. The issue of Godfrey, or the Siol Gorrie, as they were called, must for a time have acquired a superiority over the Clan-ranald or the descendants of Ranald; for in the year 1427 we find mention made by a contemporary writer of an Alexander MacGorrie of Garmoran, then described as a leader of two thousand men. In addition to the disturbances sure to arise out of the rival claims of two such powerful families, closely connected with the Lord of the Isles, there were other circumstances, in addition to these, which tended to involve his Lordship in feuds which his natural disposition inclined him to settle more by the sword than by an appeal to the law. There was a certain John Mac-Arthur, of the family of Campbell, and a leader of some note in the Highlands, who appears to have revived about this period a claim which one of his ancestors had acquired over a portion of Garmoran and the North Isles, and it can easily be conjectured what reception the assertions of such pretensions would receive from Alexander of the Isles and his warlike relatives. There is a charter of the lands of Moydert, &c., by Christina, daughter of Allan MacRuari, in favour of Arthur, son of Sir Arthur Campbell, knight,

early in the fourteenth century, which is found, quoted for the names of the witnesses, in a MS. History of the Mac-naughtans, in the Advocates' Library. The event, however, which appears to have had most effect in throwing the Highlands and Islands into confusion at this time was the murder of John, Lord of Isla and Kintyre, uncle to the Lord of the Isles, by a man, James Campbell, who is said to have received a commission from the King to apprehend John of Isla, but who exceeded his instructions by putting him to death. When it is considered in what lawless state even the more accessible portions of the kingdom were found on his accession by James I., owing to the incapacity and the weakness of the regent, Murdoch, Duke of Albany, it can easily be conceived how the murder of the uncle of Alexander of the Isles, and the leader of a powerful branch of the Macdonalds, should have raised disturbances in the Western Highlands and Isles which required all the energy and personal bravery of the King to suppress.*

Among the most prominent of those executed at Inverness in 1427 were John MacArthur and James Campbell, hanged for the murder of John of Isla, as if to show the supposed impartiality of the treacherous proceedings of the King and his parliament on that occasion. Hugh Macdonald informs us that while the Lord of the Isles was confined in Tantallon Castle, the King sent this John MacArthur Campbell to know "if John More of Kintyre, Macdonald's uncle, would take all his nephew's land; but it was a trap laid to weaken them that they might be the more easily conquered. James Campbell sent a man with a message to John of Kintyre, desiring him to meet him at a point called Ard-Du, with some prudent gentleman, and that he had matters of consequence from the King to be imparted to him. John came to the place appointed with a small retinue, but James Campbell with a very great train, and told (him) of the King's intention of granting him all the lands possessed by Macdonald conditionally he would hold of him and serve him. John said he did not know

* Gregory's Western Highlands and Isles, pp. 34-35.

wherein his nephew wronged the King, and that his nephew was as deserving of his rights as he could be, and that he would not accept of those lands, nor serve for them, till his nephew would be set at liberty; and that his nephew himself was as nearly related to the King as he could be. James Campbell, hearing the answer, said that he (John of Isla) was the King's prisoner. John made all the resistance he could, till, overpowered by numbers, he was killed. His death made a great noise through the kingdom, particularly among the faction in opposition to the King, viz., the Hamiltons, Douglasses, and Lindsays. The King at last being ashamed of what had happened, he pursued James Campbell as the murderer; and although Campbell protested he had the King's authority for so doing, yet the King denied having given any other orders than that of apprehending him, if he would not come into the terms proposed to him; and because Campbell had no written order from the King to produce in his defence, he was taken and beheaded, which shows the dangerous consequences of undertaking such a service without due circumspection."*

The young Lord of the Isles, was sent south, some say to Edinburgh, and others to Perth, where he was kept in captivity for a short time, and then liberated. His conduct immediately after his release shows that he felt the indignity of his capture and imprisonment very deeply. According to Gregory; his mother, the Countess of Ross, had meanwhile died, though Bower states that in 1429 she was charged with encouraging her son in his violent proceedings, and was arrested and confined at Inchcolm, in the Firth of Forth, where she is said to have remained fourteen months after, a prisoner. But Gregory points out that this is hardly reconcilable with a charter, dated 24th October, 1429, in which her son styles himself *Earl* instead of *Master* of Ross. The simple change from the title of *Master* to that of *Earl* during her life, is not at all unlikely, when all the circumstances are taken into

* Collectanea De Rebus Albanicis, p. 308.

account—his mother, who quite possibly may have even resigned in his favour, being a state prisoner; and the necessity that he should use every influence, which the assumption of the title was calculated to strengthen, to raise the vassals of the Earldom for his projected raid on the Lowlands.

He raised a force of about ten thousand men in Ross and the Isles, with whom he marched to Inverness, where he wasted the Crown lands and burnt the town to ashes, in revenge for the treacherous treatment there received by him two years before from the King. His followers, to quote the MS. History of the Mackintoshes, from "Invernessiana," "were a band of men accustomed to live by rapine, who fell upon Inverness, pillaged and burnt the houses, and then besieged the fort itself. But in vain, for it was gallantly defended by the bravery and vigour of the Governor, and Alexander, understanding that an assault was meditated upon him, retired precipitately towards Lochaber." The King, hearing of the burning of Inverness, prepared at once to vindicate his insulted authority, and with great promptitude collected a large force, which he commanded in person, and marched them into Lochaber, where he came upon the Island Chief quite unexpectedly. On the appearance of the Royal forces the Clan Chattan and the Camerons, who had hitherto followed the banner of the Lord of the Isles, deserted him and went over to the King, who immediately attacked the Islanders, routed them, and pursued them so closely, that their chief was obliged to sue for peace. This the King sternly refused on any other terms than an absolute and unconditional surrender, which the haughty Lord of the Isles declined to make, whereupon the King returned home, leaving strict orders with his commanders to make every effort to capture the Earl, who found it necessary to flee for shelter, leaving his army to take care of itself as best it could. He was ultimately driven to despair by the energy and vigilance of his pursuers, and determined to throw himself upon the mercy of the King, by appearing before him, his

Queen, and Court, while assembled, on Easter Sunday, at a solemn festival in the Church of Holyrood, engaged in their devotions before the High Altar, the haughty chief, with bonnet in hand, his legs and arms quite bare, his body covered only with a plaid, in his shirt and drawers, with a naked sword in his hand held by the point, which, in token of submission, he offered to the King, on bended knees, imploring his forgiveness. "His appearance, with the solicitations of the affected Queen and all the nobles, made such an impression on his majesty that he completely submitted to the promptings of his heart, against the wiser and more prudent dictates of his better judgment. He accepted the sword offered to him, and spared the life of his captive, but immediately committed him to Tantallon Castle, under the charge of William Douglas, Earl of Angus. The spirit of his followers, however, could not brook this mortal offence, and the whole strength of the clan was mustered under Donald Balloch, a cousin of the Lord of the Isles. They were led to Lochaber, where they met the King's forces, under the Earls of Mar and Caithness, killed the latter, gained a complete victory over the Royal forces, and returned to the Isles in triumph with a great quantity of spoil. James again came north in person as far as Dunstaffnage; Donald Balloch fled to Ireland; and after several encounters with the Highlanders, the King received the submission of most of the chiefs who were engaged in the rebellion; others were apprehended and executed, to the number of about three hundred, after which he released the Earl from Tantallon Castle, and granted him a free pardon for all his rebellious acts; confirmed him in all his titles and possessions; and conferred upon him the Lordship of Lochaber, which had previously, on its forfeiture, been granted to the Earl of Mar."*

Skene has been led into the error of stating that Donald Balloch was the son of Reginald, and Chief of Glengarry.

* History and Genealogies of the Clan Mackenzie, by the same author, 1879, pp. 49-50.

He was, undoubtedly, the son of John Mor Tanaistear, next brother of Donald of Harlaw, and ancestor of the Macdonnells and Earls of Antrim. Skene also fell into the mistake of crediting the ruse played upon the King, when a head, said to be that of Donald Balloch, was sent to him by Conn O'Neil, an Irish Chief. He says that King James—seeing that the absence of their chief, so far from rendering the clan more disposed to become amenable to his will, rather roused them to acts of rebellion and revenge, and that it was better to have at their head a chief who had become bound to him from acts of clemency, than to expose them to the influences of the other branches of the family, who were now irritated by the indignity offered to their legitimate chief—proceeded in person to the North, for the purpose of quelling the remains of the rebellion. His expedition was attended with the usual success by the submission of all the chiefs who had been engaged in it. “Donald Balloch was soon after this betrayed, and his head sent to the King, upon which he at once restored the Lord of the Isles to liberty, granted him a free pardon for all the various acts of rebellion he had been guilty of, and also confirmed him not only in all his titles and possessions, but even granted him the Lordship of Lochaber, which had been forfeited from his cousin Alexander, and given to the Earl of Mar.”* The prudence of this policy on the part of the King was soon apparent, for although the Island Chief was naturally more disposed to take up an antagonistic position to the Crown, and went even the length of entering into a treasonable league with the Earls of Crawford and Douglas, who at the time led the opposition to the King, he did not again disturb the peace of the nation during his life.

Donald Balloch inherited through his mother, Marjory Bisset, the district of the Glens in Ireland, whither he had betaken himself after the dispersion of his army, and after he had ravaged and spoiled the territories of Clan Chattan and the Camerons, who had deserted him and gone over to

* *Highlanders of Scotland*, pp. 78-79.

the King. Most of the subordinate insurgent leaders submitted to James, and tried to avoid punishment by throwing the whole blame of the insurrection on Donald Balloch, whose power, they declared, they dared not resist. As to Donald and his reputed decapitation, Gregory says that "on the return of James to Edinburgh, a head, said to be that of Donald Balloch, was sent to him by Hugh Buy O'Neill, an Irish chief of Ulster; and it was generally believed at the Scottish Court that the ringleader of the late insurrection was now no more. But as Donald Balloch certainly survived King James many years, it is obvious that the sending of the head to Edinburgh was a stratagem devised by the crafty Islander in order to check further pursuit."*

The date of this battle, according to Hill Burton and Gregory, was 1431. The former states that an extraordinary tax was granted on the occasion of it "for the resistance of the King's rebellors of the north," which was to be such that "in all lands of the realm where the yield of twa pennies was raised, there be now ten pennies raised". [Vol. ii., p. 403]. Describing the battle, the author of "The Macdonnells of Antrim" informs us that the Lowland knights, who were very numerous in the Royal army, plumed themselves on the superior armour and discipline of their men, but soon found that even this was of no avail against the furious onset of their Highland foes, who wielded their broadswords and Lochaber-axes with all the ferocity of Northern warfare. According to him, at least one thousand of the King's army were slain, among whom were the Earl of Caithness, and sixteen of his personal retinue, together with several knights and barons from the southern counties of Scotland, after which the Highland host dispersed itself into marauding parties, spoiled the county, and then returned to their native fastnesses, having only lost some fifty of their comrades in arms on the battlefield. "Donald Balloch, and several other leaders, having had their revenge, steered their galleys across the

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 38-39.

channel, and sought rest and security, which they very much needed, in the woody glens of Antrim. They were soon followed by a despatch from the Scottish King to O'Neill, requesting the latter to seize and send back Donald Balloch alive or dead. O'Neill, who had previously entered into a treaty with James I. of mutual assistance against England, sent the latter a human head, which was joyously accepted as that of Donald Balloch by the Scottish Court then at Perth. But Donald Balloch retained possession of his own head, and at the time of this other head's transmission to Scotland he was actually paying his addresses to O'Neill's daughter, whom he soon afterwards married, and through whose powerful connections he was restored without much delay to his estates in Isla and Cantire." This lady was the daughter of Conn O'Neill (son of Hugh Buy O'Neill), who resided at a place called Edenduffcarrick, and now known as Shane's Castle, in Ireland, where he died in the year 1482.

Following up his account of the execution of James Campbell at Inverness, in 1427, for the murder of John Mor Tanaistear, father of Donald Balloch, Hugh Macdonald describes the incidents which led up to the battle of Inverlochy, the battle itself, and the events which followed upon it, in so detailed and interesting a manner that, even at the risk of some repetition it may be placed before the reader, the phraseology being slightly modernised. He says:—All those about the King wished to impair Macdonald's estate and diminish his grandeur, to which the King himself was not very averse. They now thought it a convenient time for their purpose, the Lord of the Isles being in prison (in Tantallon Castle), and his uncle, John Mor, dead, to seize on the lands of Lochaber, whereupon Alexander, Earl of Mar, who had received a grant of these lands from the King, levied a great army by his Majesty's directions, namely, the followers of Huntly; Allan, Lord of Caithness; Fraser of Lovat, Mackintosh, Mackay of Strathnaver, Grant, and the Chief of the Camerons, who enticed some of Macdonald's vassals, by making them great

promises, to join with them, and that the rights they formerly held of Macdonald would be confirmed to them by the King. The vassals and the freeholders, considering that Macdonald's power was entirely gone and ruined, and believing they would never again see him installed in his possessions, through greed and covetousness they joined the King's party. So, coming to Lochaber, they pitched their tents near the Castle of Inverlochy. Fraser of Lovat* was sent to harass Sunart and Ardnamurchan with 3000 men, to secure provisions for the army and the camp. Macdonald, obtaining information of these proceedings, and finding an opportunity, sent a message from his prison of Tantallon to the Highlands desiring those whom he trusted most to face the enemy, though they might never again get a sight of him. So Donald Balloch, his cousin-german (John Mor's Son, at the time only 18 years of age, and who was fostered by Maclean), gathered all those who faithfully adhered to Macdonald's interest, and came to Carna, an island in Loch Sunart, there, meeting with the Laird of Ardnamurchan, Allan, son of Allan of Moydart, and his brother, Ranald Bàn (for these were the principal men of the name who were with him). He picked out the best of their men to the number of 600, most of whom were gentlemen and freeholders, and all of whom came in their galleys to Inverskipinish, two miles south of Inverlochy. Now Alastair Carrach, Macdonald's younger uncle, who held the lands of Lochaber east of Lochy, and whose posterity are yet there, took possession of the hill above the enemy with 220 archers, being unable by the smallness of their number to face the enemy, and expecting that some of his friends would at last come to his relief. Upon seeing his nephew, Donald Balloch, he was, however, much animated. As Donald Balloch drew near the Royal forces, Huntly stepped into the Earl of Mar's tent, where he and Mackintosh were playing at cards. Huntly suggested to them to give up their play as the enemy were close at

* This was Hugh Fraser, created Lord Lovat by James I. in the same year, 1431. His second son, Hugh, succeeded to the title.

hand. They (the card-players) asked if the enemy were in great force, when Huntly replied that they were not very numerous, but he could see that they were determined to fight. "Well," said Mackintosh, 'we'll play this game, and dispute with these fellows afterwards.' Huntly again looked out, when he saw the enemy driving on furiously towards them; he goes a second time to the tent, saying, "Gentlemen, fight stoutly, or render yourselves to your enemies". Mackintosh replied that they "would play that game, and would do with the enemy what they pleased afterwards, and that he knew very well the doings of the big-bellied carles of the Isles". "Whatever they be," replied Huntly, "they will fight like men this day," when Mackintosh retorted that "though he himself (Huntly) should assist them, their (Mackintosh's) party would defeat them both". Whereupon Huntly went out of the tent in a rage, saying that he would fight none against the Highlanders that day. He then drew his men aside, and "was more of a spectator than of either party". "Then joining battle, Donald Balloch made a main battle, and a front of his men." The front was commanded by MacIan of Ardnamurchan, and John Maclean of Coll; the main battle by Ranald Bàn, son of John Mòr, murdered by James Campbell (and a natural brother of Donald Balloch, who became progenitor of the family of Lairgy), and Allan, son of Allan, Laird of Moidart (of whom descended the family of Knoydart), and MacDuffie of Colonsay, MacQuarrie of Ulva, and MacGee of the Rinds of Isla. As the combatants faced one another, Alastair Carrach and his 220 archers poured down the brae of the hill on which they had planted themselves, and shot their arrows so thick on the flank of the Royal army, as to compel them to give way. Allan, Lord of Caithness, a son of Lovat, and 990 were killed. Hugh Mackay of Strathnaver was taken prisoner, and he married a daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, "of whom descended the race of Mackays called Slioc Ean Abridh". Donald Balloch lost only 27 men. The Earl of Mar was wounded in the thigh

by an arrow, and was in the hills for two nights accompanied only by his servant, in a starving condition, for they had no provisions. At last he fell in with some women tending their cattle, who happened to have a little barley meal for their own use, and with which they relieved the Earl and his servant, mixing it with a little water in the heel of the Earl's own shoe. The Earl, after he and his servant had satisfied their hunger, composed the following lines in Gaelic :—

'S math an cochair an t-acras,
'S maireg 'ni tailleas air biadh,
Fuarag eorn' a sail mo bhroige
Biadh is fhearr a fhuair mi riamh.

The Earl left his clothes with the woman that he might disguise himself, and he travelled all night until he came to a small house, on a spot of land called Beggich, belonging to an Irishman named O'Birrin. He told this man that he was one of the Earl of Mar's followers, and that necessity obliged him to disguise himself for fear of being discovered. The man was going to slaughter a cow as the Earl came to his place, and he desired the stranger to hold her. "The Earl was more willing to obey his landlord's orders than skilful to act as butcher." The Irishman, dissatisfied with the awkward manner in which he was assisted by the Earl, "cursed those who took such a blockhead abroad to be a soldier. At last he cuts some collops which he gave to the Earl to dress for himself which he could not very well do, until his landlord did it for him, by roasting them upon the coals. At going to bed he washed the Earl's feet in warm water, cleaned and washed his wound. When the Earl laid himself down, he could not sleep with cold, being very scarce of bed clothes. O'Birrin got up, took the cow's hide, and warming it to the fire, wrapped it about the Earl, which warmed him so much that he perspired during the whole night. In the morning, after such refreshments as they had, the Earl said he would go to Badenoch." He informed his host that he did not know the way thither, but would do his best to find it, whereupon the Irishman

made him fill his pockets with the flesh of the cow, and then convoyed him three or four miles on his way. When they parted company the stranger told him if he should ever find himself in tightened circumstances, to go to Kildrummie, the seat of the Earl of Mar, and ask there for Alexander Stewart, who would cause the Earl to reward him for his present kindness to himself.

Some time after the Irishman did as he was told, and, arriving at Kildrummie, asked for Alexander Stewart, when the porter told him that "he was a fool, for there was no such man there," but the Irishman continued to knock until the Earl himself at last heard him, and, calling for the porter, he asked him who was knocking at the gate. The latter replied that "he was some fool enquiring for Alexander Stewart". The Earl soon recognised the "fool" as his old friend the Irishman, ordered the gate to be opened to him, and kindly embraced him, at the same time addressing him in the following lines:—

Oidhche dhomh a bhi ann an tigh air moran bidh 's air bheag aodaich,
Fhuaras agh' mor do dh' fheoil air dhroch bhruich bho O'Birrin 's a Bhaggach.

His Lordship sent for a tailor, and ordered him at once to make a suit of clothes for O'Birrin. He requested the latter to bring his wife and son to Kildrummie, but this the Irishman declined, saying that his wife was old, and would not leave her native country. After entertaining him for some time, the Earl sent O'Birrin home with sixty milch cows, enjoining him to send his son to Kildrummie. The son came "some time thereafter, and was made a laird of a small estate, which has since fallen to a gentleman of the name of Forbes, whereby it may be seen that a good turn to a generous or noble person is not always lost."*

During the minority of James II. the Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles held the office of "Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth," a position which, Gregory thinks, he probably obtained from Archibald, Earl of Douglas and Duke of Touraine, then Lieutenant-General of Scotland. There is no account of the manner in which the Earl exer-

* Transactions of the Iona Club, 308-312.

cised the duties of his high office, but it is supposed that it was under colour of it that he inflicted his vengeance on the Chief of the Camerons about this time for deserting him and going over to the Royal standard in Lochaber, and in consequence of which Lochiel was forced to flee to Ireland, where he remained for several years; and, in his absence, his lands were bestowed by the Earl of Ross upon John Garve Maclean, ancestor and founder of the family of Coll.

The Earl married Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon and Huntly, and by her had issue—

1. John, his successor.

2. Celestine, variously styled Archibald, and its Gaelic equivalent, Gillespic, Lord of Lochalsh and Lochcarron. He married Finvola, daughter of Lachlan Maclean of Duart, with issue—Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh (Alastair MacGillespic) who afterwards, in 1488, fought the famous battle of Park against the Mackenzies, near Strathpeffer, and of whom hereafter.

3. Hugh otherwise called “Austin” and “Augustine,” corruptions of the Gaelic equivalent Hugh, *i.e.*, *Huistean* or *Uistean*. He was styled Lord of Sleat, and married, first, Finvola, daughter of MacIain of Ardnamurchan, by whom he had John, his heir, who died without issue. He married, secondly, a lady of the Clan Gunn in Caithness, by whom he had issue, Donald Gallach, who carried on the succession, and whose descendants are now held, by general concurrence, to represent, as heirs male, Alexander, third, and John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, forfeited in 1475 and 1493.

A question has been raised about the legitimacy of Celestine and Hugh, as well as of Hugh's descendants, especially Donald Gallach, from whom descended the present Lord Macdonald of the Isles. Respecting Hugh, after describing a successful raid by him to Orkney, Hugh Macdonald, says that “Having routed the enemy, Austin (Hugh) and his party began to ravage the country, that being the only reward they had for their pains and fatigue, with which, having loaded their galleys, they returned home.

Austine having halted at Caithness, he got a son by the Crouner of Caithness's daughter, of the name of Gun, which at that time was a very flourishing name there, descended of the Danes. This son was called Donald Gallich, being brought up in that county in his younger years; for the ancient Scots, until this day, call the county of Caithness Gallibh." Referring to the two families of John, first Lord of the Isles, Skene says [vol. ii., p. 95] that the representation of his children by his second marriage, with the daughter of Robert II. "clearly devolved upon the Macdonalds of Sleat, who were descended of Hugh, brother of John the last Lord of the Isles," and at page 96 he says that "it is fully admitted that the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last Lord of the Isles". Smibert calls Hugh of Sleat a "full brother" of John, Lord of the Isles, and says that "he left a line which indubitably had the clearest direct claims, as legitimate descendants, to the family honours and inheritance". Gregory, who says that it is uncertain whether they are by the same mother as John, is more learned, and in a footnote, p. 41, writes:—"I call these sons legitimate notwithstanding that Celestine is called '*filius naturalis*' by Earl Alexander (charter in charter chest of Mackintosh 1447), and '*frater carnalis*' by Earl John (Reg. of Great Seal, vi., 116, 1463), and that Hugh is likewise called '*frater carnalis*' by Earl John (charter in Westfield Writs, in the possession of Alex. Dunbar, Esq. of Scrabster, 1470). They are, however, both called '*frater*,' without any qualification, by Earl John (Reg. of Great Seal, vi., 116, xiii., 186). The history of Celestine and Hugh and their descendants, as given in the present work [Highlands and Isles,] sufficiently shows that they were considered legitimate, and that, consequently, the words '*naturalis*' and '*carnalis*,' taken by themselves, and without the adjunct '*bastardus*,' do not necessarily imply bastardy. It is probable that they were used to designate the issue of those handfast, or left-handed marriages which appear to have been so common in the Highlands and Isles. Both *naturalis* and *carnalis* are

occasionally applied to individuals known to be legitimate in the strictest sense of the term."

Alexander of the Isles had also several daughters, one of whom

4. Margaret, married John, twelfth Earl of Sutherland, and another

5. Florence, married Duncan Mackintosh, IX. of Mackintosh, with issue.

He died at his Castle of Dingwall. on the 8th of May, 1448, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. JOHN, FOURTH AND LAST LORD OF THE ISLES,

Of the family of Macdonald, as strenuous an opponent of the King's party as ever his father had been. He began to rule at a critical period in the history of his house. The treasonable league which his father, Alexander, had formed with William, 8th Earl of Douglas, and the Earl of Crawford, has been already referred to, and, though they took no action upon it during the life of the last Lord, after his death they broke out into open rebellion. John of the Isles took an active part in the insurrection, collected a large force of the Islanders, seized the royal castles of Inverness, Urquhart, and Ruthven, and declared his independence of the Scottish Crown. He demolished the Castle of Ruthven to the ground. Urquhart Castle was placed under the command of his father-in-law, Sir James Livingstone, who on hearing of the insurrection of the Lord of the Isles left the Court and escaped to the Highlands ; while the stronghold of Inverness was carefully garrisoned and supplied with a large quantity of military stores. It is asserted that the King himself was the cause of the marriage of the Lord of the Isles to the daughter of Sir James Livingstone, promising with her a grant of land which he never gave; and in the Auchinleck Chronicle the fact is recorded as a private grievance which, among others, urged the Island Chief into this rebellion. On this point

Gregory supposes that he was too much occupied in securing himself against the great power and ambition of the Douglas party in the southern counties, now rendered more confident by the return of their chief from abroad, to be able to take prompt measures against the Earl of Ross ; at least, none such are recorded in the chronicles which have come down to us. But there can be no doubt that James contemplated proceeding to the North to chastise the rebels there ; for it was upon the refusal of Douglas to renounce the league, offensive and defensive, into which he had entered with the Earls of Ross and Crawford, that the king in a sudden fit of passion assassinated, with his own hand, that nobleman, whose inordinate ambition was considered the chief cause of all these commotions. William, Earl of Douglas, being thus cut off in the height of his power, was succeeded by his brother, James, 9th Earl, who, after repeated rebellions, was finally encountered and defeated by the Earl of Angus, leader of the King's troops, at Arkinholme in Annandale. In this battle, Archibald, Earl of Moray, and Hugh, Earl of Ormond, brothers to the Earl of Douglas, were slain ; while the Earl himself, with his only remaining brother, Sir John Douglas of Balvany, made his escape into the West Highlands. Here he was received by the Earl of Ross, who still remained faithful to his engagements, having, it would appear, hitherto escaped, by reason of the remoteness and inaccessibility of his territories, the vengeance which had fallen so heavily on his confederates, Douglas and Crawford. Ross immediately collected a fleet of one hundred galleys, with a force of five thousand men on board, and dispatched this expedition, under the command of his kinsman, Donald Ballach of Isla, to attack the coast of Ayrshire, with the intention, probably, of encouraging the Douglas party again to draw together, should such a course appear expedient. Owing to the able measures of defence adopted by the King, this enterprise met with little success. Donald commenced hostilities at Innerkip in Ayrshire ; but being

unable to effect any object of importance, he proceeded to ravage the Cumrays and the Island of Arran. Not above twenty persons, men, women, and children, were slain by the Islanders, although plunder to a considerable amount—including five or six hundred horses, ten thousand oxen and kine, and more than a thousand sheep and goats—was carried off. The Castle of Brodick in Arran was stormed and levelled to the ground; while one hundred bolls of meal, one hundred marts (cows), and one hundred marks of silver, were exacted as tribute from the Isle of Bute.* The expedition was concluded by an attack upon Lauder, Bishop of Argyle, or Lismore, a prelate who had made himself obnoxious by affixing his seal to the instrument of forfeiture of the Douglasses, and who was now attacked by the fierce Admiral of the Isles, and, after the slaughter of the greater part of his attendants, forced to take refuge in a sanctuary, which seems scarcely to have protected him from the fury of his enemies.†

The Earl of Douglas returned to England after the failure of the expedition under Donald Balloch; and Ross, finding himself alone in rebellion, became alarmed for the consequences, and, by a submissive message, entreated the forgiveness of the King; offering, as far as it was still left to him, to repair the wrongs he had inflicted. James at first refused to listen to the application; but, after a time, consented to extend to the humbled chief a period of probation, within which, if he should evince the reality of his repentance by some notable exploit, he was to be absolved from all the consequences of his rebellion, and reinstated in the Royal favour.‡ In 1457, the Earl of Ross was one of the Wardens of the Marches, § an office of great trust and importance, but obviously intended to weaken his influence in the Highlands and Isles, by forcing him fre-

* It would seem that the Castle of Rothesay was also besieged. Acts of Parliament, ii., 109.

† Tytler's Scotland, iv., pp. 86-127. Auchinleck Chronicle, pp. 44, 51, 55. Acts of Parliament, ii., 190.

‡ Tytler's Scotland (1879 ed.), vol. ii., p. 177.

§ Rymer's Fœdera, xi., p. 397.

quently to reside at a distance from the seat of his power ; and, as he was, at the same time, one of the nobles who guaranteed a truce with England,* it would seem that he had lost no time in effecting a reconciliation with the King. Previous to the siege of Roxburgh, at which [1460] James II. was unfortunately killed, the Earl of Ross joined the Royal Army with a body of three thousand of his vassals, well armed in their own peculiar fashion. To prove his loyalty, he offered, in case of an invasion of England, to precede the rest of the army, while in the enemy's country, by a thousand paces distance, so as to receive the first shock of the English. He was well received, and ordered to remain near the King's person ; but, as there was at this time no invasion of England, his courage and devotion, and that of his troops, were not put to the test proposed.†

Hill Burton [434-5, History of Scotland, vol. ii.], quoting from Pitscottie, says that the Earl of Ross got such encouragement as made him believe that it was sound policy to help the King in his project, and so he went to the siege with "ane great army of men, all armed in Highland fashion, with halbershownes, bows, and axes ; and promised to the King, if he pleased to pass any farther into the bounds of England, that he and his company should pass ane large mile before the host, and take upon them the press and dint of the battle" ; and that he was found very serviceable "to spoil and herrie the country," an occupation to which the Lowland forces were now less accustomed than they used to be.

Soon after the siege of Roxburgh, and the death of the King, a Parliament met in Edinburgh, which was attended by the Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, and other Highland chiefs. The Earl soon discovered that the new Government was not strong enough to keep him in subjection, and he renewed his league with the banished Douglasses, with the view of pursuing his former schemes

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi., p. 397.

† Tytler's *Scotland*, iv., p. 176. Buchanan, b. xi.

of personal aggrandisement. The Douglasses were naturally anxious to secure the great power and influence of the Earl of Ross against the Government, and they soon succeeded in inducing him to enter into a treasonable league with Edward IV. of England. By the advice of his principal vassals and kinsmen, on the 19th of October, 1461, Ross met in council at the Castle of Ardtornish, and granted a commission, as an independent prince, "to his trusty and well-beloved cousins," Ranald of the Isles, and Duncan, Archdean of the Isles, to confer with the deputies of the English King. These Commissioners met soon after at Westminster, and on the 13th of February, 1462, concluded a treaty for the conquest of Scotland by Edward IV., with the assistance of the Earls of Ross and Douglas, both of whom were to receive stipulated sums of money, and, in case of success, large grants of lands for their aid in subjugating their native land to the English crown.

Referring to these negotiations, Hill Burton [vol. iii., p. 3] says that on the 2d of August, 1461, "a commission is appointed by Edward IV. for peace 'with our beloved kinsman the King of Scots'; yet just two months earlier another had been issued for treating with 'our beloved kinsman, the Earl of Ross, and our choice and faithful Donald Balagh, or their ambassadors, commissioners, or messengers'. The refugee Earl of Douglas was a party to this negotiation. It was brought to a conclusion by an elaborate treaty dated February, 1462. By this document it was covenanted that the Lord of the Isles should become for all his territory the liegeman of King Edward and his heirs; and that if Scotland should be conquered through the aid of the Lord of the Isles, he should be made Lord of the northern part of the Land to the Scots Water, or Firth of Forth; while Douglas, should he give proper aid, was to be lord of all the district south of the Forth—both districts to be held in strict feudal dependence on King Edward and his heirs. Meanwhile, and until he should reap this brilliant reward, the Lord of the Isles was to have 'for fees and wages'

yearly, in time of peace, a hundred merks, and in time of war two hundred pounds ; while his assistant, Donald, was to receive a retainer amounting to twenty per cent. of these allowances." Donald Balloch's son, John, was retained at half the sum stipulated for his father for carrying out his part of the treasonable programme.

While the negotiations ending in this treaty were in progress, the Earl of Ross raised the standard of rebellion in the North. Having assembled a great force, he placed them under the command of his bastard son, Angus Og, assisted by his distinguished and experienced relative, the veteran Donald Balloch. This rebellion, according to Tytler,* "was accompanied by all those circumstances of atrocity and sacrilege that distinguish the hostilities of these island princes. Ross proclaimed himself King of the Hebrides, whilst his son and Donald Balloch, having taken possession of the Castle of Inverness, invaded the county of Athole, published a proclamation that no one should dare to obey the officers of King James, commanded all taxes to be henceforth paid to Ross, and after a cruel and wasteful progress, concluded the expedition by storming the Castle of Blair, dragging the Earl and Countess of Athole from the chapel and sanctuary of St Bridget to a distant prison in Isla. Thrice did Donald attempt, if we may believe the historian, to fire the holy pile which he had plundered—thrice did the destructive element refuse its office, and a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the greater part of his war-galleys were sunk, and the rich booty with which they were loaded consigned to the deep, was universally ascribed to the wrath of heaven, which had armed the elements against the abettor of sacrilege and murder. It is certain, at least, that this idea had fixed itself with all the strength of remorse and superstition in the mind of the bold and savage leader himself ; and such was the effect of the feeling, that he became moody and almost distracted. Commanding his principal leaders and soldiers to strip themselves to their shirt and drawers, and assuming himself

* Vol. ii. (1879 edition), p. 192.

the same ignominious garb, he collected the relics of his plunder, and proceeding with bare feet, and a dejected aspect, to the chapel which he had so lately stained with blood, he and his attendants performed penance before the altar. The Earl and Countess of Athole were immediately set free from their prison." The relief of Donald Dubh from captivity seems to have been the chief object of this expedition, but Angus appears to have liberated his prisoners without attaining his object.

During these turbulent proceedings Ross assumed royal prerogatives over the whole Sherifffdoms and Burghs of Inverness and Nairn, which at that time included all the northern counties. There are no means existing by which it can be ascertained how this civil broil was suppressed ; but it is known that the Earl of Ross was summoned before Parliament for treason in connection with it, that he failed to appear, and that the process of forfeiture against him was for a time suspended, though an army was actually in readiness to march against him. His submission, however, rendered this unnecessary, and although he did not receive an unconditional pardon, he was permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of his estates for twelve or thirteen years afterwards, until, at length, in 1475, the treaty between him and Edward IV. in 1462, came to light, when it was at once determined to proceed against him as an avowed traitor to the crown. He was summoned at his Castle of Dingwall to appear before the Parliament to be held in Edinburgh, in December, 1475, to answer the various charges of treason brought against him, and, at the same time, a commission was granted in favour of Colin, Earl of Argyle, to prosecute a decree of forfeiture against him. He failed to appear on the appointed day, and sentence was pronounced upon him. He was declared a traitor, and his estates were forfeited to the Crown. A formidable armament, under the command of the Earls of Crawford and Athole, comprehending both a fleet and a land force, was made ready to carry the sentence of Parliament into effect. These preparations induced him to sue for pardon through

the medium of the Earl of Huntly. By means of a grant of lands in Knapdale to the Earl of Argyle he secured the influence of that powerful nobleman in his favour. The Queen and the States of Parliament were prevailed upon to intercede in his behalf, and appearing soon afterwards in person at Edinburgh, he, with much humility, and many expressions of repentance, surrendered himself unconditionally to the Royal clemency, when the King, "with wonderful moderation," consented to pardon him ; and in a Parliament held on the 1st of July, 1476, he was restored to the forfeited estates of the Earldom of Ross, and the Lordship of the Isles. Immediately afterwards he made a voluntary and absolute surrender to the Crown of the Earldom of Ross, the lands of Kintyre and Knapdale, and all the Castles thereto belonging, as well as the Sherifffdoms of Inverness and Nairn ; whereupon he was in return created a Baron Banrent and Peer of Parliament by the title of Lord of the Isles. "The Earldom of Ross was now inalienably annexed to the Crown, and a great blow was struck at the power and grandeur of a family which had so repeatedly disturbed the tranquillity of Scotland."

By the favour of the King, "the succession to the new title and the estates connected with it, was secured in favour of Angus and John, the bastard sons of the Lord of the Isles ; and Angus, the elder of them, was soon afterwards married to a daughter of the Earl of Argyle. This Angus was early accustomed to rebellion, having acted as lieutenant to his father in the great insurrection of 1461. Neither the favour now shown to him by the King, nor his alliance with the Earl of Argyll, were sufficient to keep the natural violence of his temper within bounds ; and circumstances soon enabled him to establish an ascendancy over his father. The sacrifices made by the latter in 1476, when he gave up the Earldom of Ross, and the lands of Kintyre and Knapdale, were very unpopular among the chiefs descended of the family of the Isles, who further alleged that he had impaired his estate by improvident grants of

land to the Macleans, Macleods, Macneils, and other tribes. Thus, the vassals of the Lordship of the Isles became divided into two factions—one comprehending the clans last mentioned, who adhered to the old lord, the other consisting of the various branches of the Clandonald who made common cause with the turbulent heir of the Lordship. In these circumstances Angus not only behaved with great violence to his father, but involved himself in various feuds, particularly with the Mackenzies.”*

The Sleat Seannachie, Hugh Macdonald, gives the following version of the feuds and family quarrels which occurred between John, Lord of the Isles, and his son Angus Og. The father was “a meek, modest man, brought up at court in his younger years, and a scholar, more fit to be a churchman than to command so many irregular tribes of people. He endeavoured, however, still to keep them in their allegiance by bestowing gifts to some and promoting others with lands and possessions ; by this he became prodigal and very expensive. . . . He gave the lands of Morvairn to Maclean, and many of his lands in the north to others, judging by these means to make them more faithful to him than they were to his father. His son, Angus Ogg, being a bold, forward man, and high minded, observing that his father very much diminished his rents by his prodigality, thought to deprive him of all management and authority. Many followers adhered to him. His father being at Isla, he went after him with a great party, forced him to change seven rooms to lodge in, and at last to take his bed, during the whole of the night, under an old boat. When he returned to his house in the morning he found his son sitting with a great crowd about him. MacFinnon rising up, desired Macdonald to sit down ; who answered that he would not sit till he would execute his intention, which was to curse his son. So leaving Isla with only six men, he went to the mainland and to Inverary, and having waited without till one of the Argyll gentlemen came forth in the morning, who, observing Macdonald, went in immediately and told

* Gregory's *Western Highlands and Isles*, pp. 51-52.

Argyll of the matter, who could scarcely believe him, saying, if he was there he would certainly send some person to inform him before hand. With that he started up, and going out, finds Macdonald, and, having saluted him and brought him in, he said, I do not wonder at you coming here ; but I am surprised you did not warn me before your arrival, and that your retinue is so small. That is little, said Macdonald, to the revolutions of the times, and thou shalt be the better of my coming ; and so, after dinner, he bestowed on him the lands of Knapdale, Rilisleter, from the river Add to the Fox-burn in Kintyre, 400 merks lands, and desired Argyll to convey him to Stirling, where the king was at that time, and for his son's disobedience he would resign all his estates to the king. So they went to Stirling together, and from thence to Air, in company with the king, when John resigned all into his hands, excepting the barony of Kinloss in Murray, of Kinnaird in Buchan, and of Cairndonald in the West, which he retained to support his own grandeur during his lifetime. Angus Ogg Macdonald, his son, followed his former courses, came to Inverness, and demolished the castle. When his brother Austin saw how matters went on, and that John had resigned all to the king, he goes to Edinburgh, and takes his charters from the king for all his patrimony which his father and mother bestowed on him formerly, in favour of his heirs-male, legitimate or illegitimate ; which patrimony consisted of North Uist, the parish of Hough in South Uist, Canna, Benbicula, Slate, Trottenish, and Lochbroom. But Angus Ogg, his nephew, continuing his former pretensions, resolved not to surrender any of his father's lands to the king or to his father himself. The Earl of Athole was ordered with a party against him. He joined others in the north, who had the same injunctions from the king, viz., the Mackays, Mackenzies, the Brodies, some of the Frasers and Rosses. Angus Ogg came from Isla and Kintyre to the West, and raising some of his own name viz., Alexander Macdonald of the braes of Lochaber, John of Glengarry, the Laird of Knoydart, and some of the

Islanders, he goes to Ross, where, meeting Athole and his party near Lagebread, he gave them a defeat, killing 517 of their army. Mackay was made prisoner, Athole and Mackenzie made their escape. The Earl of Crawford afterwards was ordered by the king to go by sea, and Huntly, with a party, to go by land, to harass and discourage Angus Ogg's adherents; but neither of them executed their orders. Argyll and Athole were sent to the Islanders, desiring them to hold of the king, and abandon Angus Ogg, and that the king would grant them the same rights they had formerly from Macdonald. This offer was accepted by several. But when the Macdonalds, and heads of their families, saw that their chief and family was to be sunk, they began to look up to Angus Ogg, the young lord. About this time Austin, his uncle died, and was buried in Sand, North Uist."*

Skene corroborates the family historian, and informs us that subsequent to the resignation of the Earldom of Ross, and after the late Earl was created a Peer of Parliament by the title of Lord of the Isles, the Earl of Athole was despatched to the north to reinstate Ross in his former possessions, now re-granted to him by the king, where he was joined by the Mackenzies, Mackays, Frasers, Rosses, and others; but being met by Angus Og at a place called Lag-a-bhraid, the Earl of Athole was defeated with great slaughter, and it was with great difficulty that he managed to make his escape. Two expeditions were afterwards sent north—the first under the Earl of Crawford by sea, with another body under the Earl of Huntly by land; the second under the Earls of Argyll and Athole, accompanied by the Lord of the Isles in person. But these expeditions proved unsuccessful against Angus Og. Argyll, however, managed to persuade several families of the Isles to join him; but failing in the object of their mission, the two Earls soon returned. The Lord of the Isles, however, proceeded south, through the Sound of Mull, accompanied by the Macleans, Macleods, Macneils, and others, and again

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, 315-316.

encountered his rebellious son in a bay on the south side of Ardnamurchan, near Tobermory, where a naval engagement immediately took place between them, resulting in the complete overthrow of the father and the dispersion of his fleet. By this victory, at "the battle of the Bloody Bay," Angus was completely established in full possession of the powers and extensive territories of his clan.

There "was one called Edmond More Obrian along with Ranald Bain (Laird of Muidort's eldest son), who thrust the blade of an oar in below the stern-post of Macleod's galley, between it and the rudder, which prevented the galley from being steered. The galley of the heir of Torquill of the Lewis, with all his men, was taken and and himself mortally wounded with two arrows, whereof he died soon after at Dunvegan. . . . After this conflict, the Earl of Athole, being provided with boats by Argyll, crossed over privately to Isla, where Angus Ogg's lady, daughter of Argyll, was, and apprehended Donald Dhu, or 'the Black,' a child of three years of age, and committed him a prisoner to Inch Chonuil, so called from the builder, Conuil, son of the first Dougall of Lorn, where he remained in custody until his hair got grey. Yet Angus Ogg, Donald Du's father, was still advised by the Earl of Angus and Hamilton to hold out and maintain his rights. After this, John of the Isles gave up to the king all these lands which he formerly held back for the support of his grandeur. . . . If we search antiquaries, we will find few names in Scotland that mortified more lands to the Church than the Macdonalds did. However, I cannot deny but his father's curse seems to have lighted on this man. He took a journey south, where he killed many of the Macalisters in Arran, and also of his own name, for seizing and intromitting with some of his lands without his consent. Returning through Argyle and Lochaber, he came to Inverness. Mackenzie was like to be killed, or at least banished, by Macdonald, because he was always against him, contriving all the mischiefs he could, least, upon recovering his own, he would deprive Mackenzie of

these lands which he held of the king. There was another circumstance which shortened Macdonald's days—viz., there was a lady of the name of Macleod, daughter of Rory, surnamed the Black, who was tutor to the lawful heir of the Lewis, married to the Laird of Muidort. The tutor, her father, being resolved not to acknowledge, by any means, the true heir of the Lewis, and engross the whole to himself, was displaced by Macdonald, and the rightful heir put in possession. This lady having a spite at Macdonald for dispossessing her father, together with John Mackenzie, contrived his death in the following manner. There was an Irish harper of the name of Art O'Carby, of the county of Monaghan in Ireland, who was often at Macdonald's, and falling in love with Mackenzie's daughter, became almost mad in his amours. Mackenzie seeing him in that mood, promised him his daughter, provided he would put Macdonald to death, and made him swear never to reveal the secret. This fellow, being afterwards in his cups, and playing upon his harp, used to sing the following verse, composed by himself in the Irish language :—

T' anam do dhia a mharcaich an eich bhall-a-bhric,
Gu'm bheil t' anam an cunnart ma tha puinnsean an Gallfit ;

meaning, that the rider of the dapple horse was in danger of his life (for Macdonald always rode such a one), if there was poison in his long knife, which he called Gallfit. As Macdonald went to bed one night, there was none in the room along with him but John Cameron, brother to Ewan, laird of Locheill, and Macmurrich, the poet. This John had some rights from Macdonald of the lands of Mammore in Lochaber, written the day before, but not signed by Macdonald. The harper rose in the night-time, when he perceived Macdonald was asleep, and cut his throat, for which he was apprehended, but never confessed that he was employed by anybody so to do, although there were several jewels found upon him, which were well known to have belonged formerly to Mackenzie and the lady of Muidort. The harper was drawn after horses till his limbs



were torn asunder. After the death of Angus, the Islanders and the rest of the Highlanders were let loose, and began to shed one another's blood. Although Angus kept them in obedience while he was sole lord over them, yet, upon his resignation of his rights to the king, all families, his own as well as others, gave themselves up to all sorts of cruelties, which continued for a long time thereafter."

Gregory substantially corroborates the family historian and says that the rage of Angus knew no bounds when he discovered by whom his child, Donald Dubh, had been carried away; that this was the real cause of the expedition to Athole and the mainland, and of the sacrilegious act of violating the Chapel of St. Bridget. After describing the assassination of Angus at Inverness, Gregory concludes:— Thus fell Angus, the son and heir of John, last Lord of the Isles. With all his violence, which appears to have verged upon insanity, he was a favourite with those of his own name, who, perhaps, flattered themselves that he was destined to regain all that had been lost by his father.

It has been said by some that Angus Og was a legitimate son of John, Earl of Ross, but all the best authorities are agreed that he was not. Gregory calls him a bastard. Smibert, in his "Clans of the Highlands of Scotland," referring to the assertions of "ancient private annalists," and especially to Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat historian, says that some of these assert that John, last Lord of the Isles, who had no children by his wife, Elizabeth Livingston, had yet, "a natural son begotten of Macduffie, Colonsay's daughter, and Angus Og, his legitimate son, by the Earl of Angus's daughter." Regarding this assertion he says—"No mention of this Angus marriage occurs in any one public document relating to the Lords of the Isles, or to the Douglasses, then Earls of Angus. On the other hand, the acknowledged wife of John of the Isles, Elizabeth Livingston, was certainly alive in 1475, at which date he, among other charges, is accused of making 'his bastard son' a lieutenant to him in insurrectionary convocations of the lieges; and Angus could therefore come of no second

marriage. He indubitably is the same party still more distinctly named in subsequent Parliamentary records as 'Angus of the Isles, *bastard son* to umquhile John of the Isles'. The attribution of noble and legitimate birth to Angus took its origin, without doubt, in the circumstance of John's want of children by marriage having raised his natural son to a high degree of power in the clan, which the active character of Angus well fitted him to use as he willed. That power was still further established by his being named in 1476 as principal heir of entail to his father, when the latter submitted to the Crown and obtained a seat in Parliament; but in that very deed of entail his illegitimacy is stated once more with equal clearness, and he was only to succeed failing other heirs of the body of John. However, in the absence of any such legal issue, Angus wielded all the authority of an heir-apparent, and appears, by his violence, to have involved the tribe in perpetual disturbance." The father and son seem to have become quite reconciled during the latter years of the life of Angus, who was killed about 1485, at Inverness, while his father was yet alive.

A few years after the Lord of the Isles is again in opposition to the Government; enters into a treaty with Edward IV. of England, then preparing another expedition against the Scots; and for the remainder of the reign of James III. the vassals of the Island Chief are found in a state of open resistance to the Crown.

Angus Og having, according to most authorities, died without legitimate issue, and John, Lord of the Isles, being now advanced in years, his nephew, Alexander of Lochalsh, son of Celestine, his Lordship's brother, held, according to Gregory and other good authorities, the rank of heir to the Lordship of the Isles; while others maintain that Alexander merely commanded the clan as guardian to Angus Og's youthful son, Donald Dubh, still a prisoner at Inchconnell; but the latter view, is inconsistent with several known facts, one of which is an existing charter, dated in 1492, in favour of John Maclean of Lochbuy, of the office

of Bailliary of the south half of the Island of Tiree, granted by John, Lord of the Isles, and *Alexander de Insulis, Lord of Lochalsh*, an office which could not have been given by Alexander of Lochalsh in any other capacity than as his father's heir to the Lordship of the Isles, for it formed no part of his own patrimony of Lochalsh. In 1488, Alexander invaded the mainland at the head of his vassals with the view of wresting the ancient possessions of the Earldom of Ross from those in possession of them by charters from the Crown—especially the Mackenzies—apparently with the full consent and approval of his aged uncle of the Isles. Gregory describes the origin and result of this raid as follows :—“ As the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Lochbroom, which Alexander inherited from his father, and which he now held as a Crown fief, lay in the Earldom of Ross, his influence there was greater than that of Angus of the Isles had been. Yet the only Crown vassal of the Earldom who joined him was Hugh Rose, younger of Kilravock, whose father at this time was keeper, under the Earl of Huntly, of the Castle of Ardmanach, in Ross. In the year 1491,* a large body of Western Highlanders, composed of the Clanranald of Garmoran, the Clanranald of Lochaber, and the Clanchameron, under Alexander of Lochalsh, advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch, where they were joined by the Clanchattan. The latter tribe, which possessed lands both under the Lord of the Isles and the Earl of Huntly, was led by Farquhar Mackintosh, the son and heir of the captain of the Clanchattan. From Badenoch the confederates marched to Inverness, where Farquhar Mackintosh stormed and took the royal castle, in which he established a garrison ; and where the forces of the Highlanders were probably increased by the arrival of the young Baron of Kilravock and his followers. Proceeding to the north-east, the fertile lands belonging to Sir Alex. Urquhart, the Sheriff of Cromarty, were plundered, and a vast booty carried off by the Islanders and their associates.

* There is some confusion here as to the dates, for there is now no doubt that the battle of Park was fought as early as 1488.

It is probable that at this time Lochalsh had divided his force into two parts, one being sent home with the booty already acquired, whilst with the other he proceeded to Strathconan, for the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies. The latter clan, under their chief, Kenneth, having assembled their forces, surprised and routed the invaders, who had encamped near the river Conan, at a place called Park, whence the conflict has received the name of Blairnпарк. Alexander of Lochalsh was wounded, and, as some say, taken prisoner in this battle, and his followers were expelled from Ross. Meanwhile, the origin of these commotions did not escape the investigation of the Government; and the result was the final forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, and its annexation to the Crown. It does not appear, from the documents which we possess, how far the Lord of the Isles was himself implicated in the rebellious proceedings of his nephew. It may be that his inability to keep the wild tribes of the West Highlands and Isles in proper subjection was his chief crime, and that the object of the Government in proceeding to his forfeiture was, by breaking up the confederacy of the Islanders, to strengthen indirectly the royal authority in these remote districts. The tenor of all the proceedings of James IV., connected with the final forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, leads to this conclusion."*

We extract the following details of the origin, progress, and result of this Macdonald raid to the County of Ross, from a recent volume by the author of this work.† Kenneth Mackenzie known as "Coinneach a Bhlair," VII. of Kintail, married Margaret, daughter of John, last Lord of the Isles, hoping that by this alliance the long continued family feud might be healed up. Some time after Alexander of Lochalsh, Margaret's cousin, came to Ross, and, feeling more secure in consequence of this matrimonial alliance between the family of Mackenzie and his own, took possession of

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 55-58.

† History of the Clan Mackenzie; with Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name: A. & W. Mackenzie, Inverness, 1879.

Balcony House and the adjacent lands, where, at the following Christmas, he provided a great feast for his old dependants, inviting to it most of the more powerful chiefs and barons north of the Spey, and, among others, his cousin's lord, Kenneth Mackenzie. The house of Balcony* was at the time very much out of repair, so that he could not conveniently lodge all his distinguished guests within it. He had to arrange some of them in the outhouses as best he could. Kenneth did not arrive until Christmas eve, accompanied by a train of able-bodied men, numbering forty, according to the custom of the times, but without his lady—which gave great umbrage to Macdonald. One of the Macleans of Duart had the chief charge of the arrangements in the house. Some days previously he had a disagreement with Kenneth at some games, and on his arrival, Maclean, who had the disposal of the guests, told the heir of Kintail that, taking advantage of his connection with the family, they had taken the liberty of providing him with lodgings in the kiln. Kenneth, who was very powerful, considered himself thus insulted, more especially as he imagined the slight proceeded from Maclean's ill-will against him, and he instantly struck Maclean a blow on the ear, which threw him to the ground. The servants in the house viewed this as a direct insult to their Chief, Macdonald, and at once took to arms. Kenneth, though sufficiently bold, soon perceived that he had no chance to fight successfully, or even to beat a retreat, and, noticing several boats lying on the shore, which had been provided for the transport of the guests, he took as many of them as he required, sank the rest, and passed with his followers to the opposite shore, where he remained during the night. He took up his quarters in the house of a tenant "who haid no syrnarn but a patronimick"; and Kenneth, boiling with passion, was sorely affronted at the personal insult offered him, and at being from his own house on Christmas, staying with a stranger, and off his own pro-

* Ardintoul MS. places this feast at Balnagown House. "In 1455, Beatrice, Countess of Ross, submitted to King James II., who then granted her the Barony of Balknie."—*Orig. Par. Scot.*, vol ii., p. 480.

perty. He, in these circumstances, requested his host to adopt the name of Mackenzie, promising him protection in future, that he might thus be able to say he slept under the roof of one of his own name. His host at once consented, and his posterity were ever after known as Mackenzies. Next morning (Christmas day) Kenneth went to the hill above Chanonry, and sent word to the Bishop, who was at the time enjoying his Christmas with others of his clergy, that he desired to speak to him. The Bishop, knowing his man's temper, and the turbulent state of the times, thought it prudent to meet the young chieftain, though he considered it very strange to receive such a message, on such a day, from such a quarter, and wondered what could be the object of his visitor. He soon found that Mackenzie simply wanted a feu of a small piece of land on which was situated the house in which he lodged the previous night, and stated his reason to be, "lest Macdonald should brag that he had forced him on Christmas eve to lodge at another man's discretion and not on his own heritage". The Bishop, willing to oblige him, probably afraid to do otherwise, and perceiving him in such a rage, at once sent for his clerk, and there and then granted him a charter of the township of Culliscudden; whereupon Kenneth returned to the place, and remained in it all day, lording over it as his own property. The place was kept by him and his successors until Colin acquired more of the Bishop's lands in the neighbourhood, and afterwards exchanged the whole with the Sheriff of Cromarty for lands in Strathpeffer.

Next day Kenneth started for Kinellan, where the old chief, Alexander, resided, and related what had taken place. His father was much grieved, for he well knew that the smallest difference between the families would revive their old grievances, and, although there was less danger since Macdonald's interest in Ross was less than in the past, yet he knew the clan to be a powerful one still—more so than his own—in their number of able-bodied warriors; but these considerations, strongly impressed upon the son by the experienced and aged father, only added fuel to the fire

in Kenneth's bosom, which was already fiercely burning to revenge the insult offered him by Macdonald's servants. His natural impetuosity could ill brook any such insult, and he considered himself wronged so much that he felt it his duty personally to retaliate, and revenge it. While this was the state of his mind, matters were suddenly brought to a crisis by the arrival, on the fourth day, of a messenger from Macdonald with a summons requesting Alexander and Kenneth to remove from Kinellan, with all their family, within twenty-four hours, allowing only that the young Lady Margaret, his own cousin, might remain until she had more leisure to remove, and threatening war to the knife in case of non-compliance. Kenneth's rage can easily be imagined, and without consulting his father or waiting for his counsel, he requested the messenger to tell Macdonald that his father would remain where he was in spite of him and all his power. For himself he was to receive no rules for his staying or going, but he would be sure enough to hear of him wherever he was ; and as for his (Macdonald's) cousin, Lady Margaret, since he had no desire to keep further peace with his family, he would no longer keep his relative. Such was the defiant message sent to young Macdonald, and immediately after receipt thereof Kenneth despatched Lady Margaret in the most ignominious manner to Balnagown. The lady was blind of an eye, and to insult her cousin to the highest pitch he sent her mounted on a one-eyed horse, accompanied by a one-eyed servant, followed by a one-eyed dog. She was in a delicate state of health, and this inhumanity grieved her so much that she never wholly recovered. Her son, the only issue of the marriage, was named Kenneth, and to distinguish him from his father, was called Coinneach Og, or Kenneth the younger.

Macdonald was naturally very much exasperated by Kenneth's defiant answer to himself, and the repeated insults heaped upon his relative, and, through her, upon all her family. He thereupon dispatched his great steward, Maclean, to collect his followers in the Isles, as also to advise and request the aid of his nearest relations on the

mainland—the Macdonalds of Moidart, and Clan Ian of Ardnamurchan. In a short time they mustered a force between them of about fifteen hundred men—some say three thousand—and arranged with Macdonald to meet him at Contin. They assumed that Alexander Mackenzie, now so old, would not have gone to Kintail, but would stay in Ross, judging that the Macdonalds so recently come under obligations to their king to keep the peace, would not venture to collect their forces and invade the low country. But Kenneth, foreseeing danger from the rebellious temper of Macdonald, went to Kintail at the commencement of Macdonald's preparations, and placed a strong garrison, with sufficient provisions, in Islandonain Castle ; and the cattle and other goods in the district he ordered to be driven and taken to the most remote hills and secret places. He took all the remaining able-bodied men along with him, and on his way back to Kinellan he was joined by his dependants in Strathconan, Strathgarve, and other glens in the Braes of Ross, all fully determined to defend Kenneth and his aged father at the cost of their lives, small as their united forces were in comparison with that against which they would soon have to contend.

Macdonald had meanwhile collected his friends, and at the head of a large body of Western Highlanders, advanced through Lochaber into Badenoch, where he was joined by the Clan Chattan ; marched to Inverness, where they were joined by the young Laird of Kilravock and some of Lovat's people ; reduced the Castle (then a Royal fortress), placed a garrison in it, and proceeded to the north-east, and plundered the lands of Sir Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty. They next marched westward to the district of Strathconan, ravaged the lands of the Mackenzies as they proceeded, and put the inhabitants and more immediate retainers of the family to the sword—resolutely determined to punish Mackenzie for his ill-treatment of Lady Margaret, and recover possession of that part of the Earldom of Ross so long possessed by the Earls of that name, but now the property of Mackenzie by Royal charters from the king. Macdonald

wasted Strathconan, and arrived at Contin on Sunday morning, where he found the people in great terror and confusion ; and, the able-bodied men having already joined Mackenzie, the aged, the women, and children took refuge in the church, thinking themselves secure within its precincts from an enemy professing Christianity. They soon, to their horror, found themselves mistaken. Macdonald, having little or no scruples on the score of religion, ordered the doors to be closed and guarded, and then set fire to the building. The priest, helpless and aged men, women and children, were all burnt to ashes.

Some of those who were fortunate enough not to be in the church immediately started for Kinellan, and informed Mackenzie of the hideous and cruel conduct of the advancing enemy. Alexander, sorely grieved in his old age at the cruel destruction of his people, expressed his gratitude that the enemy, whom he had hitherto considered too numerous to contend with successfully, had now engaged God against them, by their impious and execrable conduct. Contin was not far from Kinellan, and Macdonald, thinking that Mackenzie would not remain at the latter place with such a comparatively small force, ordered Gillespie to draw up his followers to the large moor known as " Blar na Pairc," that he might review them, and send out a detachment to pursue the enemy. Kenneth Mackenzie, who commanded, posted his men in a strong position—on ground where he thought he could defend himself against a superior force, and conveniently situated to attack the enemy if a favourable opportunity occurred. His followers only amounted to six hundred, while his opponent had at least nearly three times that number ; but he had the advantage in another respect, inasmuch as he had sufficient provisions for a much longer period than Macdonald could possibly procure for his larger force, the country people having driven their cattle and all provender that might be of service to the enemy out of his reach. About mid-day the Islesmen were drawn up on the moor, about a quarter of a mile distant from the position occupied by the Mac-

kenzies, their forces only separated from each other by a peat moss, full of deep pits and deceitful bogs. Kenneth, fearing a siege, shortly before this prevailed upon his aged father to retire to the Raven's Rock, above Strathpeffer, to which place, strong and easily defended, he resolved to follow him in case he was compelled to retreat before the numerically superior host of his enemy. This the venerable Alexander did, recommending his son to the assistance and protection of a Higher Power, at the same time assuring him of success, notwithstanding the superior forces of his adversary. By the nature of the ground, Kenneth perceived that Macdonald could not bring all his forces to the attack at once. He courageously determined to maintain his ground, and adopted a stratagem which he correctly calculated would mislead his opponent, and place him at a serious disadvantage. He acquainted his brother Duncan with his resolution and plans, and sent him off, before the struggle commenced, with a body of archers to be placed in ambush, while he determined to cross the peat bog himself and attack Macdonald in front with the main body, intending to retreat as soon as his adversary returned the attack, and thus entice the Islesmen to pursue him. He informed Duncan of his intention to retreat, and commanded him to be in readiness with the close body of archers under his command to fall down and charge the enemy whenever they got fairly into the moss, and entangled among its pits and bogs. Having made all these preliminary arrangements, he boldly marched to meet the foe, leading his resolute band in the direction of the intervening moss. Macdonald seeing him, in derision called upon Gillespie to see "Mackenzie's impudent madness, daring thus to face him at such disadvantage". Gillespie being a more experienced general than the youthful but bold Alexander said "that such extraordinary boldness should be met by more extraordinary wariness in us, lest we fall into unexpected inconvenience". Macdonald, in a furious rage, replied to this wise counsel, "Go you also and join with them, and it will not need our care, nor move the least fear in my

followers ; both of you will not be a breakfast to me and mine". Meanwhile, Mackenzie advanced a little beyond the moss, avoiding, from his intimate knowledge of it, all the dangerous pits and bogs, when Maclean of Lochbuy, who led the van of the enemy's army, advanced and charged him with great fury. Mackenzie, according to his pre-arranged plan, at once retreated, but so masterly that in so doing he inflicted "as much damage upon the enemy as he received". The Islesmen soon got entangled in the moss, and Duncan observing this, rushed forth from his ambush and furiously attacked them in flank and rear, slaughtering most of those who entered the bog. He then turned round upon the main body, who were taken unprepared. Kenneth seeing this, charged with his main body, who were all well instructed in their chief's design, and before the enemy were able to form in order of battle, he fell on their right flank with such impetuosity, and did such execution amongst them, that they were compelled to fall back in confusion before the splendid onset of the small force which they had so recently sneered at and despised. Gillespie, stung at Alexander's taunt before the engagement commenced, to prove to him that "though he was wary in council, he was not fearful in action," sought out Mackenzie, that he might engage him in single combat, and followed by some of his bravest followers, he, with signal valour, did great execution among his opponents as he was approaching Kenneth, who was in the hottest of the fight ; and who, seeing Gillespie coming in his direction, advanced to meet him, killing, wounding, or scattering any of the enemy that came between them. He made a signal to Gillespie to advance and meet him in single combat ; but finding him hesitating, Kenneth, who far exceeded him in strength, while he equalled him in courage, would "brook no tedious debate, but pressing on with fearful eagerness, he at one blow cut off Gillespie's arm and passed very far into his body, so that he fell down dead."

Next morning, Kenneth, fearing that those few who escaped might rally among the hills, and commit cruelties

and robberies on those of his people who might lie in their way, marched to Strathconan, where he found, as he expected, that about three hundred of the enemy had rallied and were destroying everything which they had passed over in their eastward march ; as soon, however, as they noticed him in pursuit they instantly took to their heels, but they were all killed or taken prisoners. Kenneth now returned to Kinellan, conveying Alexander, whom he had taken prisoner, in triumph. His aged father, Alastair Ionraic, had now returned from the Raven's Rock, and warmly embraced his valiant son—congratulated him upon his splendid victory over such a numerically superior force ; but, shrewdly, and with some complaining emphasis, told his son that “he feared they made two days' work of one,” since, by sparing Macdonald, whom he had also taken prisoner, and his apparent heir, Alexander of Lochalsh, they preserved the lives of those who might yet give them trouble. But Kenneth, though a lion in the field, could not, from any such prudential consideration, be induced to commit such a cowardly and inhuman act as was here inferred. He, however, had no great faith in his more immediate followers if an opportunity occurred to them, and he sent Macdonald, under strong guard, to Lord Lovat, to be kept by him in safety until he should advise him how to dispose of him. He kept Alexander of Lochalsh with himself, but contrary to all the expectations of their friends, he, on the intercession of old Macdonald, released them both within six months, having first bound them by oath and honour never to molest him or his, and never again to claim any right to the Earldom of Ross, which Alexander of the Isles had formerly so fully resigned to the king.*

Many of the Macdonalds and their followers who escaped from the field of battle perished in the river Conon. Flying from the close pursuit of the victorious Mackenzies, they took the river, which in some parts was very deep, wherever they came up to it, and were drowned. Rushing to cross

* This account of the Battle of Park is given mainly on the authority of the Earl of Cromartie's MS. History of the Mackenzies.

at Moy, they met an old woman—still smarting under the insults and spoliation inflicted on her and her neighbours by the Macdonalds on their way north—and asked her, “Where was the best ford on the river?” “Oh! Ghaolaich, is aon ath an abhuinn; ged tha i dubh cha’n eil i domhainn” (Oh! dear, answered she, it is all one ford together; though it looks black it is not at all deep). In their pitiful plight, and on the strength of this misleading information, they rushed into the water in hundreds, and were immediately carried away by the stream, many of them clutching at the shrubs and bushes which overhung the banks of the river, and crying pitifully for assistance. This amazon and her lady friends had meanwhile procured their sickles, and now exerted themselves in cutting away the bushes on which the wretched Macdonalds hung with a death grasp, the old woman exclaiming, in each case, as she applied her sickle, “As you have taken so much already which did not belong to you, my friend, you can take that into the bargain”. This instrument of the old lady’s revenge has been for many generations, and still is, by very old people in the district, called “Cailleach na Maigh,” or the old wife of Moy.*

The victors then proceeded to ravage the lands of Ardmeanach and those belonging to William Munro of Foulis—the former because the young Baron of Kilravock, whose father was governor of that district, had assisted the other party; the latter probably because Munro, who joined neither party, was suspected secretly of favouring Lochalsh. So many excesses were committed at this time by the Mackenzies that the Earl of Huntly, Lieutenant of the North, was compelled, notwithstanding their services in repelling the invasion of the Macdonalds, to act against them as oppressors of the lieges.†

This insurrection cost the Macdonalds the Lordship of the Isles, as others had previously cost them the Earldom of Ross. In a Parliament held in Edinburgh in 1493, the

* Mackenzie’s History of the Mackenzies.

† Gregory, p. 57. Kilravock Writs, p. 170, and Acts of Council.

possessions of the Lord of the Isles were declared to be forfeited to the Crown. In the following January the aged earl appeared before King James IV., and made a voluntary surrender of everything, after which he remained for several years in the king's household as a court pensioner. By Act of the Lords of Council in 1492, Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, obtained restitution for himself and his tenants for the depredations committed by Macdonald and his followers.*

From the final forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles in 1493, to the death of John in 1498, the country was in a constant state of insurrection, though many of the leading heads of families made their submission to the Crown. Alexander of Lochalsh lost no opportunity of asserting his claim to the Earldom of Ross and the Lordship of the Isles. It was, however, determined by the Government that no single family should ever again be permitted to acquire the same preponderance in the west. At first the steps taken to secure the submission of the Islanders were not characterised by any great severity. In 1493, James IV. proceeded in person to receive the submission and homage of the leading vassals of the Lordship. In this he acted wisely, as the result proved, for even those haughty barons had a certain respect for royalty, and proved themselves willing to grant to their king in person what was scarcely possible he could ever have forced from them by the sword. Among the first who submitted to his clemency were Alexander de Insulis of Lochalsh, John de Insulis of Isla, John Maclean of Lochbuy, and Duncan Mackintosh of that ilk, formerly vassals of the forfeited Lord of the Isles. In return for their submission they received royal charters of all or nearly all the lands which they previously held under the Island Chief, and thus became freeholders, independent of any superior but the Crown. Alexander of Lochalsh and John of Isla received the honour of knighthood, while

* According to the Kilravock papers, p. 162, the spoil amounted to "600 cows and oxen, each worth 13s 4d; 80 horses, each worth 26s 8d; 1000 sheep, each worth 2s; 200 swine, each worth 3s; with plenishing to the value of £300; and also 500 bolls of victual and £300 of the mails of the Sheriff's lands."

the former, as presumptive heir to the Lordship of the Isles previous to the forfeiture of his uncle, received a promise from the king to secure all the free tenants of the Isles in their holdings, an engagement which at first seems to have been strictly adhered to. The promise is distinctly mentioned in several charters in the year 1498.* Considering all the circumstances it must be allowed that the king acted with great leniency towards the Island Chiefs, especially to Alexander of Lochalsh, the leading spirit in all the recent troubles ; particularly in the outbreak which ended in the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles.

His Majesty soon returned to his lowland court ; but some of the more powerful vassals still holding out, he decided that another expedition should be sent, accompanied by such a display of military force as should effectually secure their submission, and command their obedience. So, in the month of April, 1494, we find the king again in the West, making preparations for a third visit by preparing and garrisoning the Castle of Tarbet, one of the most important strongholds in the West Highlands. In July following he appears with a powerful force, and proceeds to seize the castle of Dunaverty in South Kintyre, where he places a strong garrison, supplied like the one at Tarbet, with powerful artillery and experienced gunners. The most complete account of this period is that by Gregory, and, whether acknowledged or not, it has been freely taken advantage of by all our modern historians when treating of this obscure portion of the History of the Highlands.

It will be recollected, he says, that the districts of Kintyre and Knapdale were, in 1476, expressly resigned by the Lord of the Isles, along with the Earldom of Ross, to the Crown. A great portion of Kintyre had been held, under the Lord of the Isles, by Sir Donald de Insulis, surnamed Balloch, of Isla, prior to this resignation, which deprived Sir Donald and his family of a very valuable possession. Whether Sir John of Isla, the grandson and representative of Sir Donald,

* Reg. of Great Seal, xiii., 336, 337. Gregory, p. 88.

had, at the time he received knighthood, on the first visit of James IV. to the Isles, any hopes of the restoration of Kintyre, cannot now be ascertained. But it is certain that he was deeply offended at the step now taken, of placing a garrison in the castle of Dunaverty; and he secretly collected his followers, determined to take the first opportunity of expelling the royal garrison, and taking possession of the district of Kintyre. This opportunity was soon afforded him. The king, not expecting opposition from this quarter, was preparing to quit Kintyre by sea, with his personal attendants—the bulk of his followers having previously been sent away on some other expedition—when the Chief of Isla, finding everything favourable for his attempt, stormed the castle, and hung the governor from the walls, in sight of the king and his fleet.*

James, unable at the time to punish this daring rebel, took, nevertheless, such prompt measures for the vindication of his insulted authority, that ere long Sir John of Isla and four of his sons were apprehended in Isla, by Macian of Ardnamurchan, and brought to Edinburgh. There they were found guilty of high treason, and executed accordingly on the Burrowmuir; their bodies being interred in the church of St. Anthony. Two surviving sons, who afterwards restored the fortunes of this family, fled to their Irish territory of the Glens, to escape the pursuit of Macian.† In the course of this year, likewise, two powerful chiefs, Roderick Macleod of Lewis, and John Macian of Ardnamurchan, made their submission, and the activity displayed by the latter against the rebellious Islesmen, soon procured him a large share of the Royal favour.

In 1495, after making extensive preparation for another expedition to the Isles, the king assembled an army

* The Treasurer's accounts, under August 1494, show that Sir John of the Isles was summoned, at that time, to answer for treason "in Kintyre". The precise act of treason is learned from a tradition well known in the Western Highlands.

† These particulars regarding the punishment inflicted on the Chief of Isla and his sons are derived from the MSS. of Macvurich and Hugh Macdonald, corroborated by a charter from the King to Macian, dated 24th March, 1499, and preserved among the Argyll papers, rewarding the latter for his services in apprehending Sir John, his sons, and accomplices.

at Glasgow ; and, on the 18th of May, we find him at the Castle of Mingarry, in Ardnamurchan, being the second time within two years that he had held his court in that remote castle. John Huchonson, or Hughson, of Sleat ; Donald Angusson of Keppoch ; Allan MacRuari of Moydert, chief of Clanranald ; Hector Maclean of Dowart ; Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, captain of the Clan Chameron, and Gilleonan Macneill of Barra, seem to have made their submission in consequence of this expedition. In this year, too, Kenneth Og Mackenzie of Kintail and Farquhar Mackintosh, son and heir of the captain of Clan Chattan, were imprisoned by the king in the Castle of Edinburgh. This may have been partly owing to their lawless conduct in 1491, but was more probably caused by a dread of their influence among the Islanders. The measures now taken by the king were soon after followed up by an important Act of the Lords of Council (1496), which merits particular notice. This Act provided, in reference to civil actions against the Islanders—of which a considerable number were then in preparation—that the chief of every clan should be answerable for the due execution of summonses and other writs against those of his own tribe, under the penalty of being made liable himself to the party bringing the action. This, although undoubtedly a strong measure, was in all probability rendered necessary by the disturbed state of the Isles after so many rebellions, and could hardly fail to produce a beneficial effect ; for in these wild and remote districts the officers of the law could not perform their necessary duties in safety, without the assistance of a large military force. At the same time that this important regulation was made, five chiefs of rank,—viz., Hector Maclean of Dowart, John Macian of Ardnamurchan, Allan MacRuari of Moydert, Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and Donald Angusson of Keppoch—appearing before the Lords of Council, bound themselves “by the extension of their hands,” to the Earl of Argyle, on behalf of the king, to abstain from mutual injuries and molestation of each under a penalty of five hundred pounds. Such were the steps taken

by the King and Council to introduce, at this time, law and order into the remote Highlands and Isles.

The active share taken by King James in supporting the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck (1497) withdrew his attention for a time from the state of the Western Isles, and seems to have given opportunity for a new insurrection, which, however, was suppressed without the necessity for another Royal expedition. Sir Alexander of Lochalsh—whether with the intention of claiming the Earldom of Ross, or of revenging himself on the Mackenzies, for his former defeat at Blainepark, is uncertain—invaded the more fertile districts of Ross in a hostile manner. He was encountered by the Mackenzies and Munros at place called Drumchait, where, after a sharp skirmish, he and his followers were again routed and driven out of Ross. After this event the Knight of Lochalsh proceeded southward among the Isles, endeavouring to rouse the Islands to arms in his behalf, but without success, owing probably to the terror produced by the execution of Sir John (Cathanach) of Isla and his sons. Mean-time Macian of Ardnamurchan, judging this a proper opportunity for doing an acceptable service to the king, surprised Lochalsh in the Island of Oronsay, whither he had retreated, and put him to death. In this Macian was assisted, according to tradition, by Alexander, the eldest surviving son of John (Cathanach) of Isla, with whom he had contrived to effect a reconciliation, and to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. Sir Alexander of Lochalsh left both sons and daughters, who afterwards fell into the king's hands; and of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. About the same time as the unsuccessful insurrection of which we have just spoken, the Chiefs of Mackenzie and Mackintosh made their escape from Edinburgh Castle; but on their way to the Highlands they were treacherously surprised at the Torwood by the Laird of Buchanan. Mackenzie having offered resistance, was slain, and his head, along with Mackintosh, who was taken alive, was presented to the king by Buchanan. The latter was rewarded, and

Mackintosh returned to the dungeon, where he remained till after the battle of Flodden.

In the summer of 1498 King James, still intent upon preserving and extending his influence in the Isles, held his court at a new castle he had caused to be erected in South Kintyre, at the head of Loch Kilkerran, now called the Bay of Campbelltown. Alexander Macleod of Harris, or Dunvegan, and Torquil Macleod, now (by the death of his father Roderick) Lord of Lewis, paid their homage to the king on this occasion ; and some steps were taken to suppress the feud between the Clanhuistean of Sleat and the Clanranald of Moydert, regarding the lands of Garmoran and Uist. The king soon afterwards returned to the Lowlands, leaving as he imagined, the Isles and West Highlands in a state of tranquillity not likely soon to be disturbed. A few months, however, sufficed to produce a wonderful change between the king and his subjects in the Isles. The cause of this change remains involved in obscurity ; but it must have been powerful to induce so sudden and total a departure from the lenient measures hitherto pursued, and to cause the king to violate his solemn promise by revoking all the charters granted by him to the vassals of the Isles during the last five years.* The new line of policy was no sooner determined on than followed up with the wonted vigour of the sovereign. We find him at Tarbet in the month of April, when he gave to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, and others for letting on lease, for the term of three years, the entire Lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, excepting only the Island of Isla and the lands of North and South Kintyre. Argyll received also a commission of Lieutenandry, with the fullest powers, over the Lordship of the Isles ; and, some months later, was appointed keeper of the Castle of Tarbet, and Bailie and Governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. Argyll was

* The King's general parliamentary revocation of all charters granted in his minority, could not affect those of the Islanders, which seem all to have been granted after attaining his majority.

not, however, the only individual who benefited by this change of measures. Alexander, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, received a grant of numerous lands in Lochaber (1500) formerly belonging to the Lordship of the Isles. Upon Duncan Stewart of Appin, who was much employed in the Royal service, were bestowed the lands of Duror and Glenco during the king's pleasure. The important services of Macian of Ardnamurchan (who alone of all the Islanders seems to have retained the favour of his sovereign) were likewise suitably acknowledged.*

Skene,† though less clear in details, substantially corroborates Gregory, and Tytler sums up the whole of the various expeditions of the king so concisely that we cannot resist quoting him. He says:—In 1493, although much occupied with other cares and concerns, he found time to penetrate twice into the Highlands, proceeding as far as Dunstaffnage and Mingarry in Ardnamurchan, and in the succeeding year, such was the indefatigable activity with which he executed his public duties, that he thrice visited the Isles. The first of these voyages, which took place in April and May, was conducted with great state. It afforded the youthful monarch an opportunity of combining business and amusement, of gratifying his passion for sailing and hunting, of investigating the state of the fisheries, of fitting out his barges for defence as well as pleasure, and of inducing his nobles to build and furnish, at their own expense, vessels in which they might accompany their sovereign. It had the effect also of impressing upon the inhabitants of the Isles a salutary idea of the wealth, grandeur, and military power of the king. The rapidity with which he travelled from place to place, the success and expedition with which he punished all who dared to oppose him, his generosity to his friends and attendants, and his gay and condescending familiarity with the lower classes of his subjects, all combined to increase his popularity and to consolidate and

* Highlands and Isles, 89-95.

† Highlanders of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 86-90.

unite, by the bonds of equal laws and affectionate allegiance, the remotest parts of the kingdom.*

At Tarbet, in Cantire, he repaired the fort originally built by Bruce, and established an emporium for his shipping, transporting thither his artillery, laying in a stock of gunpowder, and carrying along with him his master-gunners, in whose training and practice he appears, from the payments in the treasurer's books, to have busied himself with much perseverance and enthusiasm. These warlike measures were generally attended with the best effects; most of the chieftains readily submitted to a prince who could carry hostilities within a few days into the heart of their country, and attack them in their island fastnesses with a force which they found it vain to resist; one only, Sir John of the Isles, had the folly to defy the royal vengeance, ungrateful for that repeated lenity with which his treasons had been already pardoned. His great power in the Isles probably induced him to believe that the king would not venture to drive him to extremities; but in this he was disappointed. James instantly summoned him to stand his trial for treason; and in a Parliament which assembled at Edinburgh soon after the king's return from the north, this formidable rebel was stripped of his power, and his lands and possessions forfeited to the crown.†

The last Lord of the Isles died, about 1498, in the Monastery of Paisley, leaving no legitimate issue. He was interred at his own request in the tomb of his royal ancestor, King Robert II. He was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James, Lord Livingston, great Chamberlain of Scotland. His son, Angus Og, died, as already stated, about 1485, leaving an only child, Donald Dubh, who was at the time of his father's death, and still (1498) continued, a prisoner in the Castle of Inchconnel. Angus

* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 258-259, Ed. 1879.

† Treasurer's Accounts, August 24th, 1494, "Item, to summon Sir John of the Isles, of treason in Kintyre, and for the expense of witnesses, vi, lb. xiii. sh. iiiii. d." This, according to Mr. Gregory, was Sir John, called "Cathanach," of Isla and Cantire, and Lord of the Glens in Ireland—executed afterwards at Edinburgh about the year 1500.

married Lady Mary Campbell, daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll ; and most authorities agree that Donald Dubh was the legitimate issue of that marriage, though, for state reasons, he was declared a bastard in various acts of parliament, and, in consequence, known as "Donald the Bastard". John the second illegitimate son of the last lord, also died during his father's lifetime—before the 16th of December, 1478, clearly proved by the Register of the Great Seal, viii., 120.

Celestine of Lochalsh died in 1473—fifteen years before the death of his brother, Earl John—while his son, Alexander of Lochalsh, the "heir presumptive" to the Lordship of the Isles, was assassinated in the Island of Oronsay in 1498—the same year in which Earl John himself died.

In the latter year died also Hugh of Sleat, the only surviving son of Alexander, third Earl, leaving by his first wife, Finvola, daughter of Alexander, son of John of Ardnamurchan, one son—John MacHuistean, or Hughson, who is above referred to as having, in 1495, made his submission to James IV. with several others of the principal vassals of the Isles. John Hughson died, without issue, in 1502. He was succeeded in the property by his brother, Donald Gallach, the issue of his father by Mary, daughter of Gunn, Crouner of Caithness, from whom is descended the present Lord Macdonald of Sleat, and of whom presently.

Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, nephew of John, last Lord of the Isles, married a daughter of Lovat, by whom he left three sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom, Sir Donald of Lochalsh, known as "Donald Gallda," was afterwards elected by the Islanders to the Lordship of the Isles. He and his brother took a prominent part in the succeeding insurrections in the Isles, in connection with which his proceedings will be noticed at length. It may, however, be stated that all three died without issue, Donald's two sisters, Margaret and Janet, succeeding to his property, and carrying it to their respective husbands—Alexander Macdonald VI. of Glengarry and Dingwall of Kildun.

From these facts it will be seen that the vassals of the Lordship of the Isles, on the death of Earl John, were without any recognised head, while there were not less than three possible claimants to that high position. The first was Donald Dubh, son of Angus Og of the Isles, the latter, undoubtedly, heir of entail to John, last Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross. Donald Dubh, therefore, whether legitimate or not, had powerful claims ; and he was not long in asserting them. The next claimant was Sir Donald, whose father, Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, had for many years acted as, and held the rank of, heir to the Lordship. Finally, we have the descendants of Hugh of Sleat, son of Alexander, third Earl, who also, in their turn, claimed the succession. To follow these through their various insurrections, and to make the various points in this obscure period of the history of the Macdonalds as clear as possible, will be now attempted.

It will be remembered that DONALD DUBH, son of Angus Og, and grandson of John, last Lord of the Isles, was still a minor, and, at the time of his grandfather's death, in 1498, a prisoner in the Castle of Inchconnell. The Islanders looked upon him as the legitimate heir of his grandfather John, last Earl of Ross ; and, having been set at liberty by the gallantry and fidelity of his relatives, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, he at once proceeded to the Lewis to solicit the aid of Torquil Macleod, a very powerful chief, and married to the aunt of Donald Dubh, Katharine, daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyll. Donald's cause was at once warmly espoused by the Lord of Lewis, a fact which had great influence with the other Island Chiefs ; for they naturally concluded that Torquil Macleod, so closely related to him, must have had ample proof of Donald's legitimacy—otherwise he would not have had anything to do with him ; and from his intimate relations with the Argyll family, he was supposed to have had every facility for procuring accurate information regarding the marriage of Angus Og to his own sister-in-law, Katherine of Argyll. At first sight it would seem difficult to believe

that the first Earl of Argyll should continue to maintain the illegitimacy of his own grandson, and the second Earl, Archibald, that of his nephew ; but if we keep in view their respective positions—the latter being Lieutenant of the Isles—as well as the grasping character of the race—we can easily understand their conduct and its selfish object. They, undoubtedly, had their eyes on the extensive and valuable Island territories for themselves, and it seemed a venial crime in their eyes to sacrifice the reputation of a daughter or a sister in comparison with the loss of the grand prospect which opened up—now much increased by the confusion among the Islanders for want of a leader—of gaining possession of the vast domains of the Lordship of the Isles and Earldom of Ross. Archibald would the more readily be induced to adopt this selfish view, when he found that the claims of Donald Dubh, even if admitted to be legitimate himself, were materially weakened, and likely to be contested by others of the Macdonalds on the ground of the undoubted, admitted bastardy of his father.

The news of young Donald's escape, as well as its effect upon the disaffected Island chiefs, soon reached the king. Torquil was charged to deliver up the person of this rebel, described as being at Macleod's "rule and governance," under the penalty of treason. This he declined, whereupon he was himself denounced a traitor, and all his possessions formally forfeited to the crown. The Earl of Huntly was sent to Lochaber and the neighbouring districts to collect the crown rents, by force if necessary ; and soon afterwards, in 1502, a commission was issued in favour of Huntly, Lord Lovat, and William Munro of Fowlis, to enable them to proceed to Lochaber and Mamore, and to let the king's lands there for the space of five years to "true men". They, at the same time, received strict orders to drive all "broken men" from the district. This injunction, considering the disorganised state of that part of the country, meant the expulsion of the entire population ; for in those days all who were not governed by a responsible head or chief came under this designation. Lewis, forfeited

by Torquil Macleod, was treated in a similar manner; and we find that a grant of the lands of Mamore—Duror and Glencoe—was made to Duncan Stewart of Appin, who was at the time actively employed in carrying out the king's orders in the Isles. Great efforts were made by the king to win over some of the most powerful of the Highland chiefs, especially Ewen MacAllan of Lochiel and Lachlan Maclean of Duart. These gentlemen were in constant communication with the Court, and finally proceeded thither with the view of completing negotiations previously carried on by correspondence; but no sooner did they return to the north than they seem to have forgotten everything “except the duty by which they fancied themselves bound to support the claims of the alleged heir of Innisgall”.

The causes which led to the rebellion of the Islanders under Donald Dubh, and which so embittered the feelings of the Highlanders against the Government of the king are fully explained by various writers. Tytler says that from 1495 to 1499, in the autumn of which latter year the monarch held his court in South Kintyre, all appears to have remained in tranquillity; but after his return, a complete change took place in the policy of the king, from causes which cannot now be ascertained. And the wise and moderate measures, some time previously adopted, were succeeded by proceedings so severe as to border on injustice. “The charters which had been granted during the last six years to the vassals of the Isles, were summarily revoked. Archibald, Earl of Argyll, was installed in the office of Lieutenant, with the ample and invidious power of leasing out the entire lordship of the Isles (the Island of Isla and the lands of North and South Cantire alone excepted). The ancient proprietors and their vassals were violently expelled from their hereditary property; whilst Argyll and other royal favourites appear to have been enriched by new grants of their estates and lordships. We are not to wonder that such harsh proceedings were loudly reprobated; the inhabitants saw with indignation their rightful masters exposed to insult and indigence, and

at last broke out into open rebellion," the object of which was to place Donald Dubh on the throne of his ancestors of the Isles. Having described the release of Donald from the Castle of Inchconnel by the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and his visit to Macleod of the Lewis, Tytler proceeds—"Although James received early intelligence of the meditated insurrection, and laboured by every method to dissolve the union amongst its confederated chiefs, it now burst forth with destructive fury. Badenoch was wasted with all the ferocity of Highland warfare—Inverness given to the flames; and so widely and rapidly did the contagion of independence spread throughout the Isles that it demanded the most prompt and decisive measures to arrest it. But James' power, though shaken, was too deeply rooted to be thus destroyed. The whole array of the kingdom was called forth. The Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Crawford, and Marshall, with Lord Lovat and other barons, were appointed to lead an army against the Islanders; the castles and strongholds in the hands of the king were fortified and garrisoned; letters were addressed to the various chiefs, encouraging the loyal by the rewards which awaited them, whilst over the heads of the wavering or disaffected were suspended the terrors of forfeiture and execution. But this was not all: a parliament assembled at Edinburgh on the 11th of March, 1503, and in addition to the above rigorous resolutions, the civilisation of the Highlands, an object which had engrossed the attention of many a successive council, was again taken into consideration. To accomplish this end those districts whose inhabitants had hitherto, from their inaccessible position, defied the restraints of the law, were divided into new sherriffdoms, and placed under the jurisdiction of permanent judges. The preamble of the Act complained in strong terms of the gross abuse of justice in the northern and western divisions of the realm—more especially the Isles; it described the people as having become altogether savage, and provided that the new sheriffs for the north Isles should hold their courts in Inverness and Dingwall, and those for the south,

in the Tarbet of Lochkilkerran. The inhabitants of Dowart, Glendowart, and the lordship of Lorn, who, for a long period, had violently resisted the jurisdiction of the justice-ayres or ambulatory legal courts, were commanded to come to the justice-ayre at Perth, and the districts of Mawmor and Lochaber, which had insisted on the same exemption, were brought under the jurisdiction of the justice-ayre of Inverness. The divisions of Bute, Arran, Knapdale, Cantire, and the larger Cumbrae were to hold their courts at Ayr, whilst the deplorable condition of Argyll was marked by the words of the Act, 'that the court is to be held wherever it is found that each Highlander and Lowlander may come without danger, and ask justice,' a problem of no easy discovery. The districts of Ross and Caithness, now separated from the sheriffdom of Inverness, were placed under their own judges; and it was directed that the inhabitants of these three great divisions of the kingdom should as usual attend the justice-ayre of Inverness." *

In addition to his commission of Lieutenandry, with full powers over the Lordship of the Isles, the Earl of Argyll a few months later received the appointment of Keeper of the Castle of Tarbet, and Bailie and Governor of the king's lands in Knapdale; while at the same time Alexander, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, received grants of various lands in the district of Lochaber, which previously formed part of the Lordship of the Isles. The Islanders, about the same time, became aware that steps were being taken to expel the vassals of the old Lordship from their ancient possessions, and it was only natural that such high-handed measures, and the great danger in which they now found themselves, should have exasperated their feelings, and induced them to form a powerful combination under their newly liberated leader, Donald Dubh—whom they, rightly or wrongly, regarded as their hereditary lord—for the protection of their mutual interests. Without waiting to be attacked they advanced into Badenoch, the

* Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 271-3.

property of one of their principal enemies, the Earl of Huntly, who afterwards, when the other lords already named led a large force against the Isles, undertook to seize and garrison the castles of Strome in Lochcarron, and Islandonain in Kintail—then thought “rycht necessar for the danting of the Ilis”—provided the artillery and ammunition necessary for besieging these strongholds were sent to him by sea at the king’s expense. From this it would appear that the Mackenzies, under Hector Roy of Gairloch, acting as tutor to his nephew John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail, then a minor, supported Donald Dubh against the Government. It would also account for certain differences which took place between Hector Roy and his ward regarding the possession of the Kintail stronghold a few years later, when Hector was ordered by the Privy Council to give it up to John, his nephew and chief.

In April, 1504, the Royal army had its rendezvous at Dumbarton, and from that place artillery and warlike stores of every description available, including “gun stanes,” were sent forward for the siege of Cairnburgh, a fort on an isolated island on the west coast of Mull. The Earl of Arran received two commissions against the Islanders, and, at the same time, the Earl of Argyll, Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, and MacIan of Ardnamurchan, favoured, and were in regular correspondence with, the king,* who did not on this occasion proceed in person to the Isles. The rebellion turned out a more formidable affair than was anticipated, and very little progress was made to repress it in this campaign. In the following

* In 1504 great efforts had been made, but with little permanent success, and the progress of the insurrection became alarming. Macvicar, an envoy from Macleod, who was then in strict alliance with the king, remained three weeks at Court. MacIan also had sent his emissaries to explain the perilous condition of the country; and with characteristic energy, the king, as soon as the state of the year permitted, despatched the Earl of Huntly to invade the Isles by the north, whilst himself in person led an army against them from the south; and John Barton proceeded with a fleet to reduce and overawe these savage districts. The terror of the Royal name; the generosity with which James rewarded his adherents; and the vigorous measures which he adopted against the disaffected, produced a speedy and extensive effect in dissolving the confederacy.—*Tytler’s History of Scotland*.

year, the insurrection becoming still more alarming, the king determined to lead his army in person. He invaded the Isles with a powerful force from the south, while Huntly attacked them from the north, and took several prisoners, none of whom, however, were of distinguished rank or influence. At the same time the Royal navy was employed under Sir Andrew Wood and Robert Barton. This expedition resulted in breaking up the confederacy of the Island lords; many of them submitted to the Royal authority, among the first being the powerful Chief of the Macleans, Lord of Duart, which act on his part also implied the submission of Nacneil of Barra, and of Macquarrie of Ulva, two chiefs who, since the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, had followed the banner of their powerful neighbours, the Macleans. Maclean of Lochbuy soon followed the example of his chief, while the Macdonalds of Largie, a powerful sept of the Macdonalds of Isla, also came in. Ranald MacAllan, heir to the Chief of Clanranald, was already in high favour at Court; so that the power of the Islanders was almost completely shattered. Some of the great chiefs, however, still held out, the principal of whom was Torquil Macleod of Lewis, though his chief, Macleod of Harris, had all through been loyal to the crown. He had taken an active and leading part in the rebellion of the Islanders under Donald Dubh; and it is extremely probable that he entertained little hope of obtaining remission for his offences, which probably determined him in his resolution to hold out after the other leaders had made their submission.

In 1506, Macleod was solemnly forfeited in Parliament for not appearing to take his trial for high treason, and, to execute this sentence, the Earl of Huntly was despatched with a powerful force to the North Isles. He besieged and took the Castle of Stornoway, and reduced the whole Island of Lewis to obedience by the aid of Mackay of Strathnaver, who accompanied him in the expedition, and who was afterwards rewarded for his services by a life-rent grant of the lands of Assynt and

Coigeach, part of the lands forfeited by Macleod described by Tytler as "the great head of the rebellion". Macleod himself does not, however, appear to have been taken ; and it is uncertain what became of him after ; but we find a charter under the Great Seal in favour of his brother, Malcolm Macleod, of the lands and Lordship of the Lewis, "de novo," dated 29th June, 1511, under which his nephew John, the son of the forfeited Torquil, was excluded from the succession. Gregory states that—"although this tedious rebellion was at length suppressed, it does not appear that the projects of the Government for expelling the old inhabitants from the Lordship of the Isles, and substituting 'true men' in their room, had made any sensible progress. On the contrary the clans of the Isles and adjacent coasts continued to occupy, many of them perhaps contrary to law, their ancient possessions. Donald Dubh, the alleged heir of the Isles, for whose sake the Hebridean chiefs had made such sacrifices, again became a prisoner, and was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained until he made his escape a second time, nearly forty years after this period, under the regency of the Earl of Arran," when the faithful Islanders again rallied round him, and supported him in his claims to the Lordship of the Isles and the Earldom of Ross, as the last male heir, in the direct line, of John, the last Lord who legitimately held the ancient honours.

Meanwhile we must leave him in his long and weary captivity of forty years, and proceed to describe the state of the vassals of the Isles during his imprisonment, as also the fortunes of another who, in his absence, claimed the same ancient honours. During the recent rebellion of Donald Dubh, the lands of Clanchattan, as vassals of the Earl of Huntly, and those of the Stewarts of Appin, as followers of the Earl of Argyll, suffered severely from the incursions of the Islanders, who were infuriated against the Mackintoshes ; especially for separating themselves from the vassals of the ancient Lordship of the Isles ; for joining the enemy ; and for claiming lands in the heart of Lochaber ;

while the Stewarts, under the protection of Argyll, encroached upon the ancient lordship from the opposite side. The Camerons, since 1497, forcibly occupied the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig without any acknowledgment to the representatives of the ancient superiors, in consequence of which they suffered severely from the Islanders by the plunder and devastation of their lands of Badenoch. These feuds, which in former times would have been settled by the arbitration of the sword between the injured parties and the aggressors, were on this occasion, by the influence of the king, Huntly, and Argyll, settled by decisions of the Privy Council, or of arbitrators chosen mutually by the parties themselves.

The king was not satisfied with a mere compulsory obedience to the statutes of the realm, but took steps for the introduction to the Highlands of a knowledge of the laws by natives trained at the expense of the Government. A document is still in existence granting a piece of crown lands in the Isle of Skye by James IV. to Kenneth Williamson to support him at the schools, with a view to his studying and making himself master of the laws of Scotland, and of afterwards practising as a lawyer within the bounds of the Isles. The document is as follows:—"A letter of gift maid to Kanoeh Wilyamson, induring the king's will, of all and hale the lands of [the] *Terunga* of Kilmartine, and the half of [the] *Terunga* of Baramosmor in Trouternes, with their pertinentis, extending yerely to sax marks of old extent, liand in the Lordschip of the Illys, to hald the said Kanoeh at the Skolis, and for to lere and study the kingis laws in Scotland, and eftirwart to exerce and use the samin within the boundis of the Ilis &^{ca}. At Strivelin, the xj of Aprile, the yere of God im^m vc and viij yeris (1508), and of the kingis regne the xxi. yere." *

During the remainder of this reign justice seems to have been administered throughout the kingdom with great impartiality, and, in the Highlands, in a manner hitherto

* Transactions of the Iona Club, page 22.

unknown. The king himself became so popular among the leading Islanders, and the royal authority was so well established, that "from the suppression of the insurrection of 1506 to the disastrous battle of Flodden in 1513, the West Highlands and Isles seem to have been free from any serious disturbance." Various appointments were confirmed which made the royal authority felt in the north. The heritable Sherifffdom of Inverness, which embraced the county of that name and those of Ross and Caithness, was conferred upon the Earl of Huntly, who was empowered to appoint deputies to hold courts respectively ; for the district of Badenoch, at Kingussie ; for Lochaber, at Inverlochy ; for Ross, at Tain or Dingwall ; and for Caithness at Wick. Huntly was by the same charter, dated 16th January, 1508-9, "appointed governor of the Castle of Inverness, with a large grant of lands for the support of a garrison. Power was given him to add to the fortifications ; and he was at the same time, bound, at his own expense, to build upon the Castlehill of Inverness a hall of stone and lime upon vaults. This hall was to be one hundred feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and the same in height ; it was to have a slated roof, and to it were to be attached a kitchen and chapel of proper size. The same nobleman had previously obtained a grant of the site of the Castle of Inverlochy, where he was bound to build a 'tower and strengthen it with a barmekyn,' which, however, had not been done—owing to the Earl's constant employment in the king's service—so late as the year 1511. From this period, the great power formerly enjoyed by the Earls of Ross, and Lords of the Isles, was transferred to Argyll and Huntly ; the former having the chief rule in the South Isles and adjacent coasts, while the influence of the latter prevailed in the North Isles and Highlands. The effect of the vigorous Government of James IV. was "a decided improvement on the state of the Isles during the latter part of his reign, which was accompanied, however, by great changes in the relative position of many of the principal insular families. . . . In the course of

James' frequent expeditions to the West Highlands, the children of Sir Alexander de insulis of Lochalsh, who were all young at their father's death, had fallen into his hands. It appears that they were brought up in the Royal household, and we may presume that their education was carefully attended to. Donald, the eldest son—called by the Highlanders Donald *Gallda*, or the Foreigner, from his early residence in the Lowlands—speedily became a great favourite with the king. He was allowed to inherit his father's estates, or a great part of them, and was frequently permitted to visit the Isles. This privilege he did not abuse during the life of James IV. ; and but for the untimely death of that monarch, he would, no doubt, have received still greater marks of favour.”*

The position of the various families of Macdonald were now in many cases more unfortunate than they had ever been before. John, the eldest son and heir of Hugh of Sleat, made over all his estates to the family of Clanranald. His followers were thus without any legitimate means of subsistence, viewed with jealousy by the Government, and ultimately they became by force of circumstances rebels and marauders. The Clann Ian Mhoir of Isla at this period possessed no heritage in Scotland, but resided on their estate of the Glens, in the north of Ireland. The Macdonalds of Lochaber, or Keppoch, had local troubles on hand, which terminated in the deposition of one of their chiefs by the elders of the tribe, while they held their lands as occupants merely, “without any legal rights to the heritage”. The family of Moydart appear hitherto to have been in high favour at court, but in 1509 their chief, Allan MacRuari, was tried, convicted, and executed in presence of the king, at Blair Athole, for some unrecorded crime, at which place, according to MacVurich, his body lies interred. His successor, Ranald MacAllan, in 1513, met with the same fate as his father, being executed under similar circumstances of obscurity, at Perth, after having been, like his father, tried

* Gregory, who quotes the Treasurer's Accounts, A.D. 1507 to 1512, and Acts of the Lords of Council, xxiv., fo. 186.

in presence of the king. While the other families of the West were thus in misfortune, in consequence of the stringent measures adopted by the Government after 1493, the Clann Ian of Ardnamurchan, from having throughout the late insurrections sided with the King, greatly increased in power, and became proportionately obnoxious to the other Islanders. The family of Glencoe shared in the common misfortune ; while other leading vassals of the old Lordship improved their position, or, in the case of those forfeited, were restored to their estates. But it will be more appropriate to leave an account of the various Macdonald families, their doings, and vicissitudes, until we come to deal with them separately in the order of their descent from the main stem.

The events which led up to the fatal battle of Flodden, in which James IV. with the flower of the Scottish nobility so chivalrously sold their lives, are so well known, as well as the facts connected with the battle itself, as to render it quite unnecessary to reproduce them. In this memorable engagement the Highlanders took a leading part. Sir Donald (Gallda) Macdonald of Lochalsh, who had been knighted under the Royal banner on the field of Flodden, led a large body of the Islanders to that fatal and ever memorable engagement. Tytler, describing the battle,* its causes, and results, says : " On the right the divisions led by the Earls of Lennox and Argyll were composed chiefly of the Highlanders and Islesmen ; the Campbells, Macleans, Macleods, and other hardy clans, who were dreadfully galled by the discharge of the English archers. Unable to reach the enemy with their broadswords and axes, which formed their only weapons, and at no time very amenable to discipline, their squadrons began to run fiercely forward, eager for closer fight, and thoughtless of the fearful consequences of breaking their array. It was to little purpose that La Motte and the French officers who were with them attempted by entreaties and blows to restrain them ; they neither understood their language nor

* Vol. ii., pp. 292-294.

cared for their violence, but threw themselves, sword in hand, upon the English. They found, however, an enemy in Sir Edward Stanley, whose coolness was not to be surprised in this manner. The squares of English pikemen stood to their ground; and although for a moment the shock from the mountaineers was terrible, its force, once sustained, became spent with its own violence, and nothing remained but a disorganisation so complete that to recover their ranks was impossible. The consequence was a total rout of the right wing of the Scots, accompanied by a dreadful slaughter, in which, amid other brave men, the Earls of Lennox and Argyll were slain." Among those who fell were the Earls of Huntly, Athole, Caithness, and Glencairn; the Bishops of Caithness and of the Isles; Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy; Lachlan Maclean of Duart; Campbell of Lawers; and several other Highlanders of note. "The names of the gentry who fell are too numerous for recapitulation, since there were few families of note in Scotland which did not lose one relative or another, while some houses had to weep the death of all. It is from this cause that the sensations of sorrow and national lamentations occasioned by the defeat were peculiarly poignant and lasting; so that to this day few Scotsmen can hear the name of Flodden without a shudder of gloomy regret. The news of the discomfiture of the Scottish army at Flodden spread through the land with a rapidity of terror and sorrow proportionate to the greatness of the defeat, and the alarming condition into which it instantly brought the country. The wail of private grief, from the hall to the cottage, was loud and universal. In the Capital were to be heard the shrieks of women who ran distractedly through the streets, bewailing the husbands, the sons, or the brothers, who had fallen, clasping their infants to their bosoms, and anticipating in tears the coming desolation of their country."

Regardless of the favours which had been extended to Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, and the honours which had been conferred upon him by the late king, no sooner did

he return to the Isles after the battle of Flodden, than a new plot was immediately organised to proclaim him Lord of the Isles, notwithstanding that Donald Dubh, the recently elected holder of that dignity was yet alive, though still confined in the Castle of Edinburgh. In November, 1513, only two months after his arrival in the north, Sir Donald marched to Urquhart with a large body of Highlanders—among whom we find Alexander MacRanald of Glengarry, and Wiland Chisholm of Comar—expelled the garrison from the Castle of Urquhart, seized the stronghold, plundered and laid waste the adjoining lands, then the property of John Grant of Freuchy. Almost simultaneously with these lawless proceedings, Lachlan Maclean of Duart seized the Royal Castle of Cairnburgh, and some time after, with the aid of Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, he possessed himself of the Castle of Dunskaich, in Sleat, shortly after which Sir Donald was formally proclaimed and elected Lord of the Isles.

On the fatal field of Flodden fell, surrounded by a literal wall of the dead bodies of his clansmen, the brave Hector Odhar, Chief of the Macleans ; whereupon Lachlan Cattanach succeeded to the chiefship of Duart, and at once became the principal leader in the movement to place Sir Donald Gallda on the Island throne. Colin, third Earl of Argyll, was at once ordered by the Privy Council to proceed against Maclean and his associates, with as many of the king's lieges as he thought necessary, for the purpose of putting down the rebellion.

By an act of Council, dated 1514, men of influence were placed in charge, as lieutenants, of particular divisions of the northern Highland counties—Mackenzie of Kintail and Munro of Fowlis being appointed Lieutenants of Wester Ross ; while Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and William Lauchlanson were placed in charge of the district of Lochaber. Letters were at the same time sent to all the chiefs whose properties on the mainland lay contiguous to the Isles, charging them, in case any of the Islanders landed on their territories, to resist their hostile intentions

to the utmost of their power, and intimating that any of them who disobeyed these instructions would be held equally guilty with the Islanders themselves and punished accordingly.

The effect produced was neither great nor satisfactory, and it was considered wiser to adopt measures of a more conciliatory character. John, Duke of Albany, at the time Regent, granted a commission to John Macian of Ardnamurchan, who had throughout continued faithful to the Government, to make terms with the less prominent and violent of the rebels; promise them the Royal favour, and remission for their past crimes, if they agreed to become obedient and loyal subjects in future, and made restitution to those whom they had injured in their recent incursions. From these conditions the principal rebels, including the Macleans of Duart; the Macleods of Lewis and Harris; Alexander of Isla, chief of the Clann Ian Mhoir, or Macdonalds South, who now resided on his Antrim estate of the Glynns, were exempted. There were also excluded the personal adherents and nearer relations of Sir Donald Gallda, with several of the smaller septs who dared not refuse to take part with the neighbouring and more powerful clans. This plan so far succeeded that several of the insurgents submitted and went to Court, under assurance of protection, to arrange in person, the terms upon which they were to be pardoned and restored to favour. The Isles were thus brought for a time to a state of pacification previously unknown. The Earl of Argyll and Mackenzie of Kintail, who had been guilty of some irregularities during these turbulent years, obtained remission from the Regent.

It would appear that the intestine disorders so long chronic in the Isles were now coming to an end. In 1516 Sir Donald Gallda and Macian of Ardnamurchan submitted many of the disputes which had risen between them to the decision of the legal tribunals of the kingdom. They came under mutual obligations to redress injuries done to each other's properties in the past. At the same time Sir Donald frequently appeared at Court, under a safe conduct

from the Regent, while he carried on a lawsuit against his old enemy the Earl of Argyll. "The reconciliation of Sir Donald to the Regent was apparently so cordial, and so much power was still left to him in the Isles, that, on the 24th September, 1516, a summons was dispatched to the Earl of Argyll and to 'Monsieur de Ylis,' to join the Royal Army, then about to proceed to the borders. Some months after, the latter appears to have been in Inverness, with no good intentions, for the Earl of Huntly was directed to watch his motions; and ere long he was again in open rebellion. Sir Donald and his followers had joined Alexander, Lord Home, in the treasonable practices which brought that nobleman's head to the block; and, after his death, had given shelter to his proscribed followers. This fact, regarding which all our historians are silent, would seem to imply that Sir Donald was first excited to rebellion by the intrigue of English agents, and serves to account for the inveteracy of the Scottish Government against him after this period."

We soon find Sir Donald again in rebellion. In 1517, having given out to the Islesmen the false intimation that the Lieutenandry of the Isles and other important offices belonging to the Crown had been bestowed upon him by the Regent and Privy Council, he succeeded in raising a strong body of men, at the head of whom he attacked and expelled his old enemy, Macian of Ardnamurchan, from his lands, and took possession of the castle of Mingarry; and, although repeatedly charged by the Privy Council to give up the stronghold and the lands to their lawful owner, Sir Donald defied the Government, "razed the castle of Mingarry to the ground, and ravaged the whole district with fire and sword". His chief leaders had in the meantime discovered that he had deceived them, and that, instead of protecting the lands of which he pretended to have received charge and control, his real object was to lay them waste in the most ruthless manner. He refused to take their advice regarding his reckless and insane proceedings, and at length, taking the matter boldly into their

hands, they determined to apprehend and deliver him up to the Regent. He, however, discovered their meditated designs, and managed to effect his escape; but both his brothers were made prisoners by Lachlan Cattanach Maclean and Macleod of Lewis, the two leaders who had hitherto been most conspicuous in supporting Sir Donald in opposition to the Government. They had now, however, turned against him, became his most inveterate enemies proceeded to make their submission to the Regent, and to palliate their late rebellious proceedings in support of the Island Chief.

In 1517, the Earl of Argyll, the Macleans of Duart and Lochbuy, and Macleod of Harris presented petitions to the Privy Council, making certain offers and suggestions regarding the affairs of the Isles and Sir Donald Gallda; and, although the petitions are separate and distinct, they are uniform in advocating the suppression of Sir Donald and his rebellious followers. Argyll demanded, first, that he "should be invested with very high powers over the men of the Isles 'for the honour of the realm and the common weal in time coming'. He desired a commission of lieutenandry over all the Isles and the adjacent mainland, on the ground of the vast expense he had previously incurred, of his ability to do good service in the future, and of his having broken up the confederacy of the Islanders." His request was complied with, and the commission was granted for a period of three years, with the exceptions that those parts of Lochaber belonging to the Earl of Huntly, the Clanchattan, and Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and the Islands of Arran and Bute, were excluded from its provisions. Second, "He claimed and obtained authority to receive into the King's favour all the men of the Isles who would make their submission, and become bound for future good behaviour; to promise them remission for former offences, and to engage for the restitution, not only of their heritage, but of such Crown lands as they previously held in lease, upon proper security being given for payment of the accustomed rents and duties, by the delivery of hostages

and otherwise ; the last condition being imperative, ‘because the men of the Isles are fickle of mind, and set but little value on their oaths and written obligations’. Sir Donald of the Isles, his brothers, and the Clan Donald were, however, specially excepted from the benefits of this second article. The earl likewise demanded and received express power to pursue and follow the rebels with fire and sword ; to expel them from the Isles ; and to use his best endeavours to possess himself of Sir Donald’s castle of Strome, in Lochcarron. Particular instructions were given him to demand hostages from the Clan Ian Vor, or Clandonald of Isla, and their followers, who were now the principal supporters of Sir Donald ; and, in the event of their refusal, to pursue them with the utmost severity ; while, on the other hand, if they should submit, their leaders—the surviving sons of the late Sir John Cathanach of Isla—were to receive Crown lands in the Isles, to the annual value of one hundred merks, to enable them to live without plundering the king’s lieges, and to keep rule in time to come—they being now without heritage, owing to their father’s forfeiture.”

Lachlan Maclean of Duart makes the following demands :—first, “ A free remission of all offences to himself and his associates ; and particularly to his ‘ kin, men, servants, and partakers, following—viz., Donald Maclean (his uncle), Gilleonan Nacneil of Barra, Neill Mackinnon of Mishnish, Dunslaf Macquarrie of Ulva, and Lachlan Mac-ewin of Ardgour ; it being understood that Dowart was ready to make redress of all damages committed against the Earl of Argyll and Macian of Ardnamurchan, according to the decision of certain mutual friends. This remission was authorised by the Council to be granted to Maclean, upon hostages being given for future obedience. His next demands are somewhat startling, when his own previous conduct and the history of his predecessors are taken into consideration, and might well justify the charge of fickleness of mind brought against the Islanders by the Earl of Argyll. He desired, in the second place, that Sir

Donald of Lochalsh, with his associates, should be proceeded against as traitors, and their lands forfeited, according to law, for their treason and perseverance in rebellion. In the third place, he demanded that Sir Donald's *two brothers*, then in his custody, should be 'justified,' *i.e.*, executed, according to law, 'for pleasure and profit to the king and regent, and for stability of the country'; and further stated that he would act with double zeal in the king's service, as soon as he should perceive that the Government was serious in '*destroying the wicked blood of the Isles; for as long as that blood reigns, the King shall never have the Isles in peace, whenever they find an opportunity to break loose, as is evident from daily experience*'. For his good service done and to be done—and particularly for collecting, which he now undertook to do, the king's duties, in all places 'within (south of) the point of Ardnamurchan (except those belonging to Macian, who was to answer for himself), Maclean demanded an heritable grant of one hundred merk lands in Tiree and Mull, free of all duties. This, however, the Council would not give for a longer term than till the majority of the king, an arrangement with which he was obliged to rest satisfied in the meantime. He made various other demands, chiefly regarding his lands and possessions in the Isles; and, with some trifling exceptions, these were all agreed to.'*

One cannot help being amazed at the extremely mean and treacherous conduct of this Chief of the Macleans—conduct which cannot possibly be stigmatised too severely. The author of the "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Clan Maclean," naturally unwilling to be too severe in the condemnation of a chief of his own clan, says, "The death of the brave Hector Odhar introduces us to the name of one in writing of whom I could wish the pen were in other hands than that of a Maclean; but as I have set out avowedly with the purpose of giving a faithful record of our race, I shall certainly 'nothing extenuate'. Lachlan Cattanach Maclean succeeded his father in the year 1513; this chief, whose natural violence of temper and neglected education led to

* Gregory, pp. 115-122.

acts of the most savage cruelty, was altogether such a character as to make one regret that the noble line of Duart's lords had ever been tarnished by his being of their number. In early youth he had exhibited such symptoms of a bad disposition, and reckless indifference to the lives of his inferiors, that while residing among the Clan-Chattan, his mother's kindred, he twice narrowly escaped falling by the hand of some injured vassal. On his returning to Mull, a *Moid*, or council of chieftains and gentlemen of the Macleans, was held, at which the propriety of excluding him altogether from the succession was mooted ; his advocates, however, carried it in his favour, alleging his youth as some palliative for his present wicked and ungovernable conduct, and that at a more mature age there was hope of his being less objectionable ; but neither time nor circumstances seemed calculated to smooth the rugged nature of Lachlan Cattanach. The first act of his chieftainship is one for which we would grant him credit for boldness at least, were it a matter of certainty that he deserved it. In the seizure of the royal castle of Cairnburgh, near Mull, and of Dunscaich, in the Isle of Skye, he was aided by braver spirits than his own ; in this as well as in other exploits in which he had embroiled himself with his sovereign, he was powerfully assisted by his uncle Donald, and the Macleans of Lochbuy and Ardgour, by Macleod of Dunvegan, and others ; and it is not shown by anything the sennachies have recorded on the subject that one single act of bravery (a quality, when at all exhibited, they were ever fond of dwelling upon) was displayed upon these occasions by Lachlan Cattanach ; on the contrary, his pusillanimity is shown in very glaring colours on one or two occasions, when called to account for the rebellious doings in which he aided some, and to which he had led others. His first act of rebellion was to favour the establishment of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh as Lord of the Isles ; yet, when he himself was obliged to crave indemnity for the share he had taken therein, he did so in terms which it is unnecessary to characterize. Let his cowardly petition speak for itself :

he seeks that two brothers of Sir Donald, who were originally acting in concert with him, but whom he had detained prisoners in the hope of ingratiating himself with his sovereign, whose power he now found to be pressing hard upon him, 'should be executed according to law, for pleasure and profit to the king and regent, and for stability of the country'; and that he himself would 'aid the Government in the purpose of destroying the wicked blood of Isles, for as long as that blood reigned the king could never have the Isles in peace'. Strange demands these for a man who was himself a prime agent in that very rebellion for which he wished others thus to suffer. His demands were numerous, but we find little else than the remission of offences to himself and those of his immediate followers conceded to him. He was in return obliged to promise restitution to the Earl of Argyll and Macdonald of Ardnamurchan for injuries done to their vassals, to become personally responsible for the chieftains lately in arms with him, and to give his oath of allegiance to the king and regent. Treacherous and pusillanimous as his conduct in these proceedings was, history might be tempted to offer something in excuse for him, were it not that his character, both public and private, is such as not to admit of a single palliative. He does not appear to have possessed one single redeeming quality. I do not find that he even possessed the negative virtue of being a brave tyrant."

The execution of Sir Donald Gallda's two brothers, insisted upon by this brutal and treacherous chief of Maclean, was, it is supposed, ultimately carried out, though at first the Council were divided on the propriety of their execution. The majority, however, were in favour of the extreme sentence, while the minority wished to leave the ultimate decision to the regent; but Gregory holds that "although it cannot positively be affirmed, there is reason to think that the opinion of the majority prevailed".

Maclean of Lochbuy and Alexander Macleod of Harris received remissions for themselves and for their followers on giving up hostages, but Macleod demanded in addition

a heritable grant of the lands of Troternish. This was refused ; but he was continued a king's tenant as formerly. Mutual arrangements were made between the Earls of Huntly and Argyll as to the expulsion of the Clanchattan and the Highlanders of the Isles, in certain circumstances. Maclean of Duart appeared before the Council, and "gave his solemn oath of allegiance to the king and to the Regent ; binding himself at the same time to give his best assistance to Argyll, as Lieutenant of the Isles for the good government of these districts, and as far as lay in his power to observe the public peace and administer justice to all the king's lieges ". Sir Donald still continued at large, and in spite of the determined efforts made to capture him he managed to escape from his pursuers, and ultimately, by the aid of some of his old friends still powerful, to revenge the death of his father, Sir Alexander of Lochalsh, upon his hereditary enemy, Macian of Ardnamurchan.

It will be remembered how vigorously John Macian supported the Government of James IV., and that among his other exploits are recorded the apprehension of his relative, Sir John Macdonald of Isla, and the assassination of another, Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh. For these services he was well rewarded by James, and the favours then extended to him were continued by the regent after the king's death. He well knew that his unnatural conduct would never be forgiven by the children and kinsmen of the murdered chiefs, and that vengeance was only delayed until a fitting opportunity occurred. Macian, knowing all this, was naturally enough the first to join the Earl of Argyll in his expedition against the Islanders, after his return from the field of Flodden, and he uniformly continued steadfast in his opposition to Sir Donald and his party in the Isles. His lands suffered in consequence, and his life was eagerly sought for, not only by Sir Donald Gallda and his more immediate followers, but also by Alexander of Isla, who, although married to Macian's daughter, determined to revenge the assassination of his father and brothers upon their murderer. Soon after the submission of Maclean of

Duart and Macleod of Dunvegan, Sir Donald Gallda, ably assisted by the Macleods of Lewis and Raasay, proceeded south to Ardnamurchan, where they met Alexander of Isla, and, with their united forces, they at once attacked Macian at a place called Creag-an-Airgid, or the Silver Craig, where he was defeated and slain, with his two sons, John Suaineartach and Angus, and a great number of their followers, shortly before the 18th of August, 1519.*

Hugh Macdonald, the Sleat historian, after describing the assassination of Sir Alexander at Isle Ornsay, gives the following account of Donald Gallda's election as leader of the Islanders, and of the subsequent rebellious proceedings : —“ Now Donald Gauld, Alexander MacGillespig's son, was in a very low condition ; he had a dauvich of lands from his uncle Lovat. He gathered a great many necessaries, such as seed, &c., among the best men in Ross, for his being a great man's son. There was a common fellow in his company (named) Paul who gathered together his thigging in Ross. This man asked Donald Gauld what he meant to do with all the trash he was gathering. Donald Gauld answered, That mean and low as that was, he could do no better, and as it was God's will to reduce him to that low and despondent state, he ought to be content. Then, says Paul, if you will be advised by me, you will sell all your seed and thigging, for you will never raise yourself to any notice or respect by continuing a farmer ; therefore it is your interest to make money of all you have gathered, and hire as many men therewith as you can, to apprehend, in the first place, the Laird of Raisay, being the weakest and least powerful of all the Island Lairds, and after succeeding in this, you can act according to circumstances. This advice being followed, they came to the Isles, apprehending Raisay, to whom they communicated their intentions. Raisay goes along with them to the Lewis, and remained that night within the castle of Macleod of the Lewis. After that, Raisay had a consultation with his chief, the Laird of Lewis. It happened that night that a great many whales

* Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. v., folio 139.

ran ashore in the Bay of Stornoway. Macleod in the morning goes out to behold the diversion, and to kill them with broadswords. Donald Gauld and his company go out likewise. Raisay advised Donald Gauld, when Macleod began to strike at the whales to keep close at his heels to assist him : to which advice Donald invariably adhered. Macleod having gone home, asked what that young man was who assisted him in killing the whales. Being informed he was Donald Gauld, Macleod said it was reasonable and proper that he should be assisted to some honour and preferment.

“ After this Macleod of the Lewis and some others of the Islanders held a meeting at Kyleakin. Alexander of Kintyre came there for Donald Gruamach, son of Donald Gallich, to make him Lord of the Isles, and imparted his sentiments on the subject to Macleod. Macleod said he was willing that Donald Gruamach should be made Lord of the Isles, and that he was nearer related to him than Donald Gauld. Alexander of Kintyre had a double meaning in this offer. He well knew it did not belong to himself by right, and had a greater respect for Donald Gruamach, who had a greater right to that title, than for Donald Gauld, who, according to his opinion, was not so fit for the place, either by his actions or friendship ; besides, he did not wish to prefer Donald Gauld, he himself having a hand in his father’s murder. Upon this, Macleod spoke to Donald Gruamach upon this subject, who answered, that it was a cause not very easily carried through ; that he doubted much the loyalty of the Islanders ; and that he would noways have a hand in that affair so long as Donald Du, Angus Ogg’s son was alive. Alexander of Kintyre undertook this journey to create Donald Gruamach Lord of the Isles, fearing that if Donald Gauld succeeded he would revenge his father’s death, of which he was a partaker. This Alexander of Kintyre being married to John of Ardnamurchan’s daughter, was easily induced by his father-in-law to stand as heir, and to look for great honour and preferment, if Alexander MacGillespig was cut off. John

of Ardnamurchan's purpose was to set them by the ears, in case he himself might get some of their lands to purchase. Donald Gruamach rejecting the offer made him of being created Lord of the Isles, the Macleods thought to make Donald Gauld Lord of them. With this intention, going to Morvern, where they met Maclean, Alexander of Kintyre being also in company, comporting with the times, because he formerly told his mind to these men, they proclaimed Donald Gauld Lord of the Isles. When Brayack of Ardnamurchan was desired to compear, Maclean sent him a private message not to come, to which he paid no attention, but appeared, and was paid the same deference as any of the rest. As he sat in the tent, his son, John Sunoirtich, expressed his surprise that all the gentry of the Isles were called to Macdonald's tent, and he not treated as the rest. His father observed it was his own fault, by having a hand in Donald's father's death. His son said, if his advice was followed, they would attack Macdonald's tent; but his father said they were too weak against Donald Gauld's party. In the meantime he ordered one of his men to look to the shore and see if his galley was afloat; upon this there came a black sheep into the tent, and the person sent to see the galley came back with a salmon fish wanting an eye, telling him his boat was not afloat. John Brayack asked what was the place's name in which they were? Being answered it was called Ballepaig, he said that three things had come to pass, of which the old woman who nursed him desired him to be aware, viz., the black sheep, the salmon with one eye, and Ballepaig, wherein she warned him never to remain a night; and now, said he, the last period of my life must certainly be at hand. At that very moment one rushed out of Donald Gauld's tent, crying out, kill, and do not spare the MacEans; which commands were instantly obeyed. MacEan fled for the space of a mile, but was overtaken by Mr. Allan Morrison, and killed by the Laird of Raisay. His son John was killed, together with a young son called Angus; in short all of them that could be taken. This happened at a place called Craig-an-

airgid. In the evening thereafter, Alexander of Kintyre, observing that the death of Donald's father was amply revenged, because it was John of Ardnamurchan that apprehended him; but Donald Gauld said that his father's death was not yet fully revenged while Alexander, who was equally guilty with John Brayack, was in life. Alexander, hearing this, slipt away privately in the night time and left them. Donald Gauld after this went to Tyree, and died in the Inch of Teinlipeil, five weeks after he was proclaimed Lord of the Isles. Alexander of Kintyre and his two sons, one of whom was called John Cathanach, were afterwards, by the King's orders, hanged at the Borrowmuir, near Edinburgh, because, after the resignation of John of the Isles, they neither would take their rights from the King nor deliver up to him those lands which Macdonald had in Isla and Kintyre."*

For some time previously measures had been taken to have Sir Donald forfeited for high treason, and when the news of the slaughter of Macian of Ardnamurchan reached the Council, the Earl of Argyll strongly urged that a sentence of forfeiture should be pronounced against him as soon as the usual forms would admit. In this, however, he did not succeed, whereupon he made a protest before Parliament that neither he, as Lieutenant, nor his heirs should in future be held responsible for any mischief that might follow on the refusal of his advice regarding the territory which had been committed to his care. He at the same time complained of not receiving certain supplies of men and money, previously promised to him by the regent, to carry on the king's service in the Isles. Gregory thinks "this last statement fully accounts for the length of time Sir Donald had been allowed to remain at large after the defection of so many of his adherents; and it is difficult to say how much longer this state of things might have continued, had not his death, which took place some weeks after his success in Morvern, brought the rebellion, which

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, pp. 321-324.

had lasted with little intermission during upwards of five years, to a sudden close."

In February, 1517-18, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were both directed to proceed against "Donald Ilis, rebel and traitor, and his complices". He was the last male representative of the family of Lochalsh, and died without issue before the 18th of August, 1519.*

Leaving Donald Dubh still in captivity we shall go back some twenty years to pick up

HUGH MACDONALD OF SLEAT,

Brother of John, last Lord of the Isles and ancestor of the present Lord Macdonald of Sleat, and treat of the history of his house until Donald Dubh again emerges from his long imprisonment, and, in a second rebellion, completely disarranges the schemes of the house of Sleat, and causes another period of disorder and chaos in the Isles which almost equalled in intensity those which have been already described.

HUGH, FIRST OF SLEAT, was the the third son of Alexander, third Earl, and youngest brother of John fourth and last Earl, and of Celestine of Lochalsh.† Very little

* Register Privy Seal.

† In Skene's "Celtic Scotland," vol. iii., p. 298, we are told of Alexander, third Earl of Ross, that, "By his Countess Eilizabeth, he had John, who succeeded him as Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. By the daughter of Giollapadaraig, the last of the lay abbots of Applecross, and known to tradition as the Red Priest, with whom he obtained the lands of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and others, he had a son Hugh, to whom he gave the lands of Sleat in Skye; and by the daughter of Mac-Dubhshithe or Macphee, of Lochaber, he had Celestine or Gillespie, to whom he gave the lands of Lochalsh." Dr. Skene has not given his authority, but we presume it is the following from Macdonald, the Sleat Historian, who, writing of Alexander, third Earl of Ross, says:—First he took to him the concubine, daughter to Patrick Obeolan, surnamed the Red, who was a very beautiful woman. This surname, Obeolan, was the surnames of the Earls of Ross, till Farquhar born in Ross, was created Earl by King Alexander, and so carried the name of Ross since as best answering the English tongue. Patrick was an abbot, and had Carlbay in the Lewis, and the church lands in that country, with 18 merks lands in Lochbroom. He had two sons and a daughter. Patrick's daughter bore a son to Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, who was called Austin, or, as others say, Augustine, (Hugh). She was twice brought before the King, as MacDonald could not be induced to part with her on occasion of her great beauty. The King said, that it was no

is known of Hugh's history. In 1460, he made a raid into Orkney and ravaged the country, accompanied by William Macleod of Harris and "the young gentlemen of the Isles". His father, Earl Alexander, was for some cause taken prisoner to Edinburgh, and while there he dined with the Earl of Orkney, when "some sort of pudding was laid before them," apparently containing suet or other fatty substance. Hugh Macdonald, and the author of the Mac-vurich MS., are the only writers who notice this expedition, which, will be seen, was of considerable importance, though it originated in a boasting frolic between the two chiefs:—"Macdonald pressed the Earl of Orkney to eat (the pudding), who said he would not eat *light*. Macdonald replied, that as he himself was not used to such light, he would eat of it. The Earl of Orkney asked what sort of light was wont to be burnt in his presence. Macdonald turning about, and seeing Lauchlane Maclean behind him, desired the earl to inquire at that man standing. Maclean said there was no other light but wax burnt before Macdonald. Upon this subject they discoursed until such time as the Earl of Orkney invited Macdonald to breakfast with him next morning. Macdonald invited the Earl of Orkney rather to breakfast with him, who answered that his breakfast would be sooner ready. Macdonald said, not so. Wagers being laid, and pledges given on both sides, in the night time the Earl of Orkney sent twelve men through the town, desiring that none should dress or make meat ready for Macdonald that night, and likewise should supply him with no fuel for firing early in the morning. Maclean, getting up by times next day, could get no fuel, and remembered what happened the preceding night between the Earl of Orkney and his own master, whereupon he cut so many bows in their company, of which he made fire, and prepared a venison breakfast. Orkney being disappointed when called to breakfast with Macdonald, and much incensed,

wonder that such a fair damsel had enticed MacDonald. At last by the King's persuasion, he married Margaret Livingston, daughter to Sir Alexander Livingston, the Regent, who bore to him John, and other two who died in their infancy.

said to Macdonald, Do you think to equal or cope with me in power and authority? Macdonald said he had a young son at home, who would be his equal and match in full, and would undertake to harass his country, if he himself would procure liberty from the king. The Earl of Orkney said, if Macdonald would undertake to fulfil his engagements, he would procure the king's leave. These promises being ratified, they went home. At this time Macdonald gave the Isle of Tyree to Maclean, and sent his son Austine (Hugh), with all the young heritors of lands, to harass the Orkney inhabitants, who expected and waited for their arrival, and had encamped in a little promontory pointing out in the sea, thinking the Islanders would land there, and be defeated on their landing. But Austine took another course; for there was another point directly opposite to that in which the people of Orkney were encamped, separated by a long arm of the sea; here he landed his men. The Orcadians had to go round the head of this bay before they could come at their enemies. At first they came on furiously, but, being as bravely resisted, they fell back in confusion, on which a great slaughter ensued, for the common people there are said to be no great warriors, whatever their gentry are. One of their best soldiers, called Gibbon, was killed. The Earl of Orkney himself was killed, single-handed, by one of William Macleod of Harris's men, called Murdo MacCotter, who was afterwards Maclean's ensign-bearer. Having routed the enemy, Austine and his party began to ravage the country, that being the only reward they had for their pains and fatigue; with which, having loaded their galleys (they) returned home. Austine having halted at Caithness, he got a son by the Crouner of Caithness's daughter, of the name of Gun, which at that time was a very flourishing name there, descended of the Danes. The son was called Donald Gallich, being brought up in that county in his younger years; for the ancient Scots, until this day, call the county of Caithness Gallibh."*

* Transactions of the Iona Club, pp. 306-307.

Hugh Macdonald, the first of the family of Sleat, has a charter under the Great Seal, dated 10th November, 1495, as follows :—"Hugoni Alexandri de Insulis, Domino de Slete, fratri Joannis de Yle, Comitis Rossiaë, et heredibus suis masculis inter ipsum Hugonem et Fynvolam, Alexandri Joannis de Ardnamurchan, legitime seu illegitime procreatis seu procreandis, ac ipsorum legitimis heredibus, quibus omnibus deficientibus heredibus suis masculis post mortem præfatæ Fynvolæ, inter ipsum Hugonem, et quam cunque aliam mulierem de concilio dicti Comitis, viz. Donaldi de Insulis Domini Dunnowaig et de Glynnis, Celestini de Insulis de Lochalche, Lachlani Macgilleoni de Doward, et Alexandri Joannis de Ardnamurchan, quibus deficientibus tunc de concilio ipsorum heredum vel ipsius deficientis heredis, electam super cartam sibi factam per dictum Joannem de Yle, Comitem Rossiaë et Dominum Insularum, de data 28 Junii 1449, testibus Donaldo de Insulis, Domino de Dunnowaig et de Glynnis, Celestino de Insulis de Lochalche, fratre dicti Comitis, Lachlano Macgilleon, Domino de Doward, Joanne Macgilleon de Lochboyg, Lachlano juvente Magilleon, Magistro de Doward, Willielmo Macloyd de Glenelg, Roderico Macleod de Leoghys, Alexandro Joannis de Ardnamurchan, Joanne Lachlani Magilleon de Colla, et Thoma de Mora, secretario dicti Comitis ac rectore de Kilmanawik, terris triginta mercarum de Skerehowg, duodecim merc de Benbecila, denariatam de Gergremyniss ex parte boreale de Uist, duab. den. de Scolpic, quatuor den. de Gremynes, duab. den. de Talawmartin, sex den. de Oroinsaig, dim. den. de Wanylis, et dim. den. de insula Gillegerve, una cum terris viginti octo mercarum de Slete, jacen. in dominio Insularum, tenend. de dicto Joanne de Yle."* It will be observed that by this charter the lands named were to go to the descendants of Hugh of Sleat and Finvola of Ardnamurchan, legitimate or illegitimate.

Having died in 1498, the same year in which his brother John, fourth and last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, died, Hugh of Sleat cannot be reckoned even one of the

* Wood's Douglas's Peerage, vol. ii., pp. 11-12 ; Reg. Great Seal, xiii., 150.

chiefs of this line of Macdonald. He never did succeed to that honour. In addition to Sleat, which he occupied during the life of his father, we have seen that by the charter of 1495, already quoted, he also possessed lands in Uist and Benbecula, but during the rule of his immediate successor, the latter are granted by Precept, dated 23d of August 1505, to Ranald Macdonald of Clanranald.*

Hugh Macdonald, progenitor of the family of Sleat, married, first, Finvola, daughter of Alexander Macian of Ardnamurchan, with issue, one son—

1. John, who succeeded.

He is said to have married, secondly, a daughter of Gunn, Crowner of Caithness, by whom he had a son—

2. Donald Gallach, who succeeded his half brother John. He had also a son

3. Donald Herrach, by a daughter of Macleod of Harris, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Balranald and others in the Western Isles, who is said to have been illegitimate.

4. Archibald, or *Gillespie Dubh*, a natural son, and a most desperate character.

Hugh died in 1498, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. JOHN MACDONALD, SECOND OF SLEAT,

Known as "John Huchonson," who is instructed by two charters, the one to Ranald MacAllan, of Clanranald, of lands in Uist, and of some lands which belonged to John's father, Hugh of Sleat, held by Ranald of John, Lord of the Isles, "on the resignation of John Huchounson, of Sleit, son and heir of the said deceased Hugh," dated 5th of August, 1498, the same year in which John succeeded to them on the death of his father. The other charter is in favour of "Angus Rewathson Makranald, of the lands of Arrassaik, Keppath," and others, also on the resignation of John.

He is among those who submitted to the King at Mingarry Castle, Ardnamurchan, in 1495, while his father was yet alive.

* Privy Seal, vol iii., folio 15.

He died, in 1502, without issue, and was succeeded as representative of the family, by his half brother,

XII. DONALD MACDONALD, THIRD OF SLEAT,

Known as Donald "Gallach". The strict legitimacy of this chief has been considered doubtful; and no record of any formal marriage by his father, to the daughter of Gunn, Crouner of Caithness, can be found. Even the family historian, Hugh Macdonald, who never hesitated to bastardise the descendants of other branches of the Macdonalds when necessary to glorify his own chief, does not say that there was a formal marriage in this case, and such was hardly possible in the circumstances which he describes. Indeed his MS., already quoted (p. 152), is strong evidence the other way. The fact that his brother John made over all his possessions to Clanranald past his half-brother, has been held as strong presumptive evidence against his father's marriage. In any case Donald appears to have had neither possessions nor influence, whatever may have been the reason. Gregory says that—John, the eldest son of Hugh, having no issue himself, and having probably quarrelled with his brothers, made over all his estates to the Clanranald; as well as those estates which had been claimed and forcibly occupied by that clan as those which had remained in his own hands.* The rest of the Clanhuistein, on John's death, were thus left without any legal rights to any landed property in the Isles; and being, moreover, viewed with jealousy by the Government, owing to their propinquity to the last Lord of the Isles, they were in a manner forced to become rebels. Donald Gallach, their leader, was, with another of the brothers, murdered by their own bastard brother, Archibald, or Gillespick Dubh, an unprincipled and ambitious man, whose atrocities seem to have been winked at by the Government, on the ground, probably, that his brothers were proclaimed

*Reg. of Great Seal, xiii., 336-7; xiv., 141. John Huchonson had no brothers-*german*.

rebels whom it was desirable to exterminate. This happened about the year 1506; and Archibald, the fratricide, having endeavoured to seize the lands of Sleat, was expelled from the North Isles by Ranald Allanson, the heir of Moydart, to whom Sleat had been made over by John Huchonson, the last legal possessor. Taking refuge in the South Isles, where he joined himself to a band of pirates, Archibald, after a time, procured his own pardon, by delivering up to justice some of his lawless associates.* He then returned to Skye, and, being a man of ability, seized the command of his tribe, and exercised the office of Bailie of the extensive district of Trouterness; his right to which, however acquired, was recognised by Government in 1510.†

It will be in the recollection of the reader that it was during the rule of the two last mentioned chiefs of Sleat, John Hughson and Donald Gallach, 1501 to 1506, that the first rebellion of the Islanders under Donald Dubh took place, and both, with all the other vassals of the Lordship of the Isles, acknowledged his claim, and supported him in his attempts to regain its ancient possessions. In 1506, the same year in which Donald was captured and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, Donald Gallach, was murdered by his bastard brother, Gillespie Dubh,‡ and during the whole of this period there is not a tittle of evidence to show that they ever claimed a right to lead the vassals of the Lordship of the Isles. On the contrary they followed Donald Dubh; while their lands were in possession of Clanranald.

Donald Gallach married a daughter of John (Cathanach) Macdonald of Isla and the Glynnns, ancestors of the Earls of Antrim, with issue.

1. Donald, his heir.

* Hugh Macdonald's MS. ; Reg. of Privy Seal, iii., fo. 161. The pardon was granted on the intercession of Argyll.

† Highlands and Isles, pp. 107-8; Reg. Great Seal, iv., fol. 70; Hugh Macdonald's MS.

‡ For full particulars of this murder and the violent character of Gillespie Dubh, see the "Family of Balranald".

2. Archibald, the Clerk, and,

3. Alexander. The last two are named in the Remission for the burning of Islandonian Castle in 1539.* He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIII. DONALD MACDONALD, FOURTH OF SLEAT,

Known among the Highlanders as “Domhnall Gruamach Mac Dhomh’uill Ghallaich”. During the life of this chief the usual feuds and slaughters continued rampant in the Isles, but they did not extend to the rest of the kingdom. Donald’s position appears all through to have been of a very subordinate character among the Island chiefs, and hardly anything is known of his early history. King James V., had been for several years during his minority in the power and under the influence of the Earl of Angus and the Douglasses, and it was only in 1528, in the seventeenth year of his age, that he was able to extricate himself from their control, when the policy of the Government, especially towards the Isles, underwent a very considerable change. For this period we are totally in the dark as to the history of the family of Sleat. One of the first Acts passed by the Privy Council after the release of the king is one dated 12th November, 1528, bearing that certain persons in the Lordship of the Isles, during the supremacy of the Douglasses, obtained new titles to land there which might “turn to the great skaith of his majesty, both in respect to his own proper lands and his casualties, without the same be wisely considered and foreseen to be for the good of his Grace and realm”. These grants were made by the Earl of Angus, no doubt with the view of securing adherents in the Isles; but on the assumption of power by the king, they were declared null and void, while it was, at the same time, provided that, in future, no lands should be bestowed in the West Highlands and Islands without the advice of the Privy Council and of the Earl of Argyll the king’s Lieutenant in the Isles, “because it is understood, by the

* *Origines Parochiales Scotiae.*

king, that the said lands, or the most part thereof, are his own proper lands, or in his hands, through forfeiture, escheit, or non-entries.”*

In the same year, serious disturbances again broke out in the North and South Isles. Those in the North originated in a feud between the Macdonalds and the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan about the lands and office of Bailliary of Troternish in the Isle of Skye:—To understand this feud properly, says Gregory, it will be necessary to trace, with some care, the history of the district in question. By a charter under the Great Seal, in August, 1498, the office of Bailliary, with two *unciates* of the lands of Trouterness, was confirmed to Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan as having been formerly held by him under the Lord of the Isles, and as being then in the hands of the Crown, by the last forfeiture of that nobleman.† Two months later, another charter passed the Great Seal, granting the same office, and eight merks of the lands, to Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, on precisely similar grounds.‡ Both of these charters seemed to have been rendered null by the general revocation in 1498, or 1499, already alluded to. In 1505 the eighty merk lands of Trouterness were let, by the Commissioners of the Crown, for three years, to Ranald Bane Allanson of Moydart; the Earl of Huntly being surety for the payment of the rent by the latter.§ In 1510, Archibald Dubh, the bloodstained captain of Clanhuistein, was acting as Baillie of Trouterness, and a letter was directed under the Privy Seal to the tenants of Trouterness in his favour.|| Ranald Bane of Moydart was executed at Perth in 1513;

* Transactions of the Iona Club, p. 155.

† Reg. of Great Seal, xiii., 305.

‡ Ibid, xiii., 377.

§ Reg. of Crown Rentals, ad tempus.

|| Reg. of Privy Seal, iv., fo. 70. In the same year, at the Justiceaire held at Inverness, precept of remission, dated 4th July, is issued to Gillespie Dhu, Baillzie of Troternish, and others, John MacGille Martin, and 63 others, for common oppression of the lieges, and for resetting, supplying, and intercommuning with the king's rebels, and also for fire-raising.—*Invernessiana*, p. 193.

and Archibald Dubh soon afterwards met with the fate he deserved, being killed by his nephews, the sons of his murdered brothers.* Macleod of Dunvegan, who seems to have been principal crown tenant of Trouterness some time before 1517, had his lease continued from that year until the majority of James V. Under the government of the Earl of Angus, Dunvegan appears to have obtained also an heritable grant of the lands of Sleat and North Uist; and thus became additionally exposed to the hostility of the Clanhuistein of Sleat, who were now under the command of Donald Gruamach. The latter chief sought the assistance of his uterine brother, John MacTorquil Macleod (son of Torquil Macleod of the Lews, forfeited in 1506, and nephew of Malcom, the present Lord of Lewis), a man, like himself, without legal inheritance of any kind, in order to expel Dunvegan and his clan from Trouterness. In this they were successful, as well as in preventing him putting in force his new charter to Sleat and North Uist. Trouterness was again occupied by the Clanhuistein; and John MacTorquil, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the death of his uncle, and the minority of the son of the latter, and aided by Donald Gruamach and his followers, seized the whole barony of Lewis, which, with the command of the Siol Torquil, he held during his life.†

The Clandonald of Isla were among those rewarded by the Earl of Angus with grants of some of the lands which had reverted to the Crown after the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles. The same policy had been adopted towards Hector Mor, chief of the Macleans of Duart. These grants were now, however, declared null and void; the Earl of Argyll being foremost in pressing the Council to this act of bad faith, no doubt anticipating that the result might almost to a certainty lead to the lands being ultimately conferred upon himself. The Macleans panted

* Hugh Macdonald's MS.

† Acts of the Lords of Council, xxxix., fo. 159; xli., fo. 79. Acts of Parliament, ii. 333. Sir R. Gordon's History of the Family of Sutherland, p. 263.

for an opportunity to avenge the death of their late chief, Lachlan Cattanach, on the Campbells of Argyll, and the combined followers of Macdonald of Isla and Maclean of Duart made a descent upon Roseneath, Craignish, and other lands belonging to the Campbells, ravaging them with fire and sword, and putting many of the inhabitants mercilessly to death. The Campbells retaliated by laying waste a great part of Mull and Tiree, as well as the lands of Morvern on the mainland. The insurrection had proceeded to such a height that Sir John Campbell of Calder, "on behalf of his brother, the Earl of Argyll, demanded from the Council powers of an extraordinary nature to enable him to restore the peace of the country," in which was included, among other demands, one to the effect that all the able-bodied householders in the shires of Dumbarton and Renfrew, and in the Bailliaries of Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, should meet the Earl at Lochranza, in Arran, with provisions for twenty days, to aid him in the subjection of the Islanders. This request was refused by the Council, on the plea that, being harvest time, it would be most injurious to those districts, "but they gave directions for a cannon, with two falconets, and three barrels of gunpowder, under the charge of two gunners, and as many carpenters, to be forwarded to Dumbarton for the use of the Earl, in case he should find it necessary to besiege any of the 'strengths' of the Isles. At the same time they determined upon sending a herald of 'wisdom and discretion' to Alexander of Isla, with directions, in the first instance, to summon him and his followers to lay down their arms, under pain of treason; and, if he found them disposed to be obedient, the herald was then authorised to treat with that chief about his coming under protection, to wait upon the king and state his grievances in person, being prepared to give hostages (Lowlanders) for his obedience, and for his payment of the rents and duties of such lands as might be assigned to him by his sovereign." The herald was a pursuivant named Robert Hart, who, in the course of about a month, reported to the Council that

Alexander Macdonald of Isla proved contumacious, when directions were at once given to Argyll to proceed against the rebels of the Isles and reduce them to obedience. During the first six months little or no success was secured, but in the spring of 1538 preparations were made on a more extensive scale ~~to~~ to compel the obedience of the rebel chiefs. The "tenants" of the Isles were summoned to the king's presence upon the 24th of May "to commune with his Majesty for the good rule of the Isles," and they were at the same time prohibited from giving any assistance to the rebels, and from "convocating the king's lieges in arms" under pain of treason. A large force from the southern counties was to join Argyll, the king's lieutenant, under high penalties, and to continue their service under him "for a month"; while the burghs of Ayr, Irvine, Glasgow, Renfrew, and Dumbarton were to send their boats with provisions for the army, for which, however, they were to receive payment. Any of the Islesmen afraid to trust themselves in the low country on their way to the king were offered protection while on their way to Court, and for thirty days additional, to enable them to return home in safety.

These proceedings had the desired effect on some of the leading Island chiefs, nine of whom sent in offers of submission to the king through one of their number, Hector Maclean of Duart. Among them we find Donald Gruamach Macdonald of Sleat. Their names are :—Hector Maclean of Doward, John Maclean of Lochbuy, John Moydartach, captain of Clanranald; Alexander Macian of Ardnamurchan, Alexander Macleod of Harris (Dunvegan), the Laird of Coll (Maclean), John Macleod of the Lewis, and Donald Gruamach of Dunskaich. These were all promised protection against Argyll, and any others, on condition that they should meet the king at Edinburgh, or anywhere else where he might be holding his Court, before the 20th of June following, and remain there so long as he should require them to do so. The protection was to continue for twenty-one days after their departure from Court, to

enable them to reach their homes in safety. The king at the same time agreed to procure from Argyll ample hostages to secure their absolute safety going and returning. These were to be Duncan Campbell of Glenurchy, Archibald Campbell of Auchinbreck, Archibald Campbell of Skipnish, and Duncan Campbell of Ilangerig, all of whom were to be confined in the Castle of Edinburgh. Owing to the death of the Earl of Argyll in this year nothing, however, was done, but in the following year it was resolved finally that the king should proceed in person against the Islanders on the first of June. The whole southern array of Scotland were to meet him, with forty days' provisions, at Ayr, on that day, to accompany him to the Isles, while the whole array of the northern counties were ordered to meet James, Earl of Murray, the king's natural brother and lieutenant of the North, at Kintail, or anywhere else he might appoint, to proceed against the Islanders under his directions. And, finally, a parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh on the 24th of April to pass sentence of forfeiture against any Islesmen who should still continue disobedient.

Seeing the magnitude of the preparations made for the Royal expedition, Macdonald of Isla, and Maclean of Duart, having first received a protection and safeguard, went to the king at Stirling, and made their submission on certain conditions which were considered satisfactory, and agreed to. These chiefs having been the leaders of the insurrection, it was now considered unnecessary to lead the expedition to the Isles by the king in person, and the command was handed over to the Earls of Murray and Argyll. Macdonald of Isla promised to enforce the collection of the royal rents from the crown lands of the Isles; to support the dignity and respect of the revenues of the church; and to maintain the authority of the laws, and the inviolability of private property. Under these conditions he and his vassals were reinstated in the lands which they had forfeited by their recent rebellions.* Macdonald's revelations at Court "were such that Argyll was deprived of

* Tytler's Scotland.

his lieutenancy, and even for a time imprisoned, and the crown took the government of the Isles and West Highlands into its own hands, an arrangement which made it necessary to take John of Isla and other chiefs into confidential communication with the government. The lieutenancy which had been held by the house of Argyll was not transferred to another. Certain engagements were taken by John of Isla and others which seemed to render such a high officer unnecessary. On the vital question of the money interests of the crown in these districts, the Council were satisfied with obligations by the chiefs to collect and forward the feudal duties of the crown and the ecclesiastical taxes.”*

Macdonald of Isla appears at this period to have been leader of all the Macdonalds ; but Donald Gruamach of Sleat, though not the leader, seems all through to have taken a prominent share in the warlike proceedings of the clan. Like most other chiefs of his time, he could handle the sword better than the pen. A bond of offence and defence between Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, Hector Mackintosh, captain of Clan Chattan ; Hector Munro of Fowlis, Hugh Ross of Kilravock, and “Donald Iles of Slate,” entered into at Inverness, on the 30th of April, 1527, is given *in extenso* by Mr. Charles Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot.† The last signature upon it is “Donald Iles of Slate, *with my hand at the pen*,” guided by Sir William Munro, notary public. “It is after and from him,” continues Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, “that the family of Sleat, now represented by Lord Macdonald, had the Patronymic in Gaelic of ‘Macdhomhnuill nan Eilean,’ or Macdonald of the Isles, to distinguish his family from other branches. It has been alleged that neither this Donald, nor his contemporary and namesake, Ian Muideartach, were of legitimate descent.”

Donald Gruamach married Margaret, daughter of Macdonald of Moydart, by whom he had issue—

1. Donald, his heir.

* John Hill Burton's History of Scotland, vol. iii., p. 149, 1876 edition.

† Invernessiana, p. 203.

2. James, from whom descended the Macdonalds of Kingsburgh, whom see.

He died in 1534, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIV. DONALD GORM MACDONALD, FIFTH OF SLEAT,

Who soon after claimed for his family, and in his own person, the ancient honours of his ancestors, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Earldom of Ross. In 1535, we find him writing a letter, in Latin, dated 5th August, to King Henry VIII., in which he styles himself "Donaldus Rossie Comes et Insularem Scotie Dominus". Regarding this claim Gregory says that "many of the Islanders still regarded Donald Dubh, for whose sake their fathers had risen in rebellion in 1503, as the proper heir; but the lengthened captivity of this hapless chief, joined to the doubts of his legitimacy, which were countenanced by the government, contributed to bring forward another claimant. This was Donald Gorm of Sleat, the son and successor of Donald Gruamach. The talents of the father had done much to raise the Clandonald, or Clanhuistein of Sleat from the depressed state into which they had fallen, owing to confiscations and internal dissensions; and the power of the son was much increased by his marriage with the heiress of John MacTorquil Macleod. That chief, the representative of an elder, though forfeited branch of the family of Lewis, had, as we have seen, obtained possession of the estates and leading of his tribe; and, although he did not hold these by any legal title, the claims of his daughter, after his death, were far from contemptible, especially when supported by the influence of Clandonald. A compromise seems to have been entered into between Donald Gorm and Ruari Macleod, the legal heir of the Lewis. Ruari Macleod was allowed to enter into possession of the estate of Lewis, as formerly held by Malcolm Macleod, his father, and the last lawful possessor. In return for such an important concession on the part of the chief of Sleat, the other became

bound to assist in putting Donald Gorm in possession of Trouterness, against all the efforts of the chief of Dunvegan and his tribe, the Siol Tormod, who had again contrived to seize that district. It is probable too, that Macleod agreed to co-operate with him in his endeavours to obtain the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of the Isles, to which, indeed, on the supposition of the illegitimacy of Donald Dubh, and setting aside the forfeiture, Donald Gorm was heir male. This was the foundation of a conspiracy which soon embraced a majority of the Island chiefs, and was only extinguished by the death of Donald Gorm, and the active measures adopted by the king. It is probable that Argyll's loss of influence may have led the Islanders to expect that their object was to be obtained by favour of the crown ; but, if so, they were disappointed, and their disappointment caused them to attempt seizing by force what they could not compass by other means.

In the month of May this year (1539), Trouterness was invaded and laid waste by Donald Gorm, and his allies of the Siol Torquil, as we find from a complaint laid against them by Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan.* From Skye, taking advantage of the absence of Mackenzie of Kintail, who was opposed to his pretensions, Donald Gorm passed over into Ross-shire, where, after ravaging the district of Kenlochewe, he proceeded to Kintail with the intention of surprising Mackenzie's castle of Islandonain. This fortress was at the time almost destitute of a garrison, and had the insurgents succeeded in their attempt, a formidable rebellion in the Isles would have been the consequence. But their leader trusting to the weakness of the castle, and exposing himself rashly under the walls of the castle, received a wound in the foot, from an arrow shot by

* Books of Adjournal, 16th December, 1539. "Tradition relates that the allies followed the Siol Tormod to Skaebost, where a battle was fought at a place called *Achnafala* (the field of blood), and that several heads that had been cut off in the fray floated by the river Snizort into the yair at the mouth of the river, hence still called, *Coirre-nam-ceann*, the yair of the heads. The family residence of the chiefs of the Macdonalds was shortly thereafter transferred from the ancient castle of Dunskaich to the strong and commodious Castle of Duntulm in Troternish."—*Cameron's History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye*.

the Constable of the Castle, which proved fatal ; for, not observing the arrow was barbed, the enraged chief pulled it hastily out of the wound, by which an artery was severed ; and the medical skill of his followers could devise no means of checking the effusion of blood which necessarily followed. They conveyed him to an islet out of reach of the castle, where a temporary hut was constructed, in which this ill-fated representative of the Lords of the Isles closed his short career. The spot where he died is still pointed out, and receives from the natives the name of “Larach tigh Mhic Dhonuill” ; or, “the site of Macdonald’s house”. Discouraged by this event, the insurgents returned to Skye, after burning all the boats belonging to the Kintail men they could find.*

John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail, it appears, supported Macleod in his contentions with Macdonald, and this was the cause of Donald Gorm’s raid upon Kenlochewe and Kintail. The following account is taken from Mackenzie’s “History and Genealogies of the Clan Mackenzie”—“Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat laid waste the country of Macleod of Dunvegan, an ally of Mackenzie, after which he passed over, in 1539, to the mainland and pillaged the lands of Kenlochewe, where he killed Miles or Maolmuire, son of Finlay Dubh MacGillechriost MacRath, at the time governor of Islandonain Castle. Finlay was a very ‘pretty man,’ and the writer of the Genealogy of the Macras informs us that ‘the remains of a monument erected for him, in the place where he was killed, is still (1704) to be seen’. Kintail was naturally much exasperated at this unprovoked raid upon his territory, as also for Macdonald’s attack upon his friend and ally, Macleod of Dunvegan ; and to punish Donald Gorm, he despatched his son, Kenneth, with a force to Skye, who made ample reprisals in Macdonald’s country, killing many of his followers and at the same time exhibiting great intrepidity and sagacity. Donald Gorm almost immediately made an incursion into Mackenzie’s territories of Kintail, where he

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 143-146.

killed Sir (Rev.) Dougald Mackenzie, 'one of the Pope's knights'; whereupon Kenneth, younger of Kintail, paid a second visit to the Island, wasting the country; and on his return Macdonald, learning that Islandonain was garrisoned by a very weak force under the new governor, John Dubh Matheson of Fernaig,—who had married Sir Dugald Mackenzie's widow—made another raid upon it, with fifty birlinns or large boats full of his followers, with the intention of surprising the small garrison, and taking the castle by storm. The gallant defenders consisted at the time of only the governor, his watchman, and Duncan MacGillechriost Mac Fhionnladh MacRath, a nephew of Maolmuire killed in the last incursion of the Island Chief. The advance of the boats was, however, noticed in time by the sentinel or watchman, who at once gave the alarm to the country people, but they arrived too late to prevent the enemy from landing. Duncan MacGillechriost was on the mainland at the time; but, flying back with all speed, he arrived at the postern of the stronghold in time to kill several of the Islesmen in the act of landing; and entering the castle, he found no one there but the governor and watchman; almost immediately, Donald Gorm Mor furiously attacked the gate, but without success; the brave trio having strongly secured it by a second barrier of iron within a few steps of the outer defences. Unable to procure access, the Islesmen were driven to the expedient of shooting their arrows through the embrasures, and in this way they succeeded in killing the governor.

"Duncan now found himself, except the watchman, sole defender of the castle; and worse still, he found his ammunition reduced to a single barbed arrow, which he wisely determined to husband until an opportunity occurred by which he could make good use of it. Macdonald at this stage ordered his boats round to the point of the Airds, and was personally reconnoitring with the view of discovering the weakest part of the wall wherein to effect a breach. Duncan considered this a favourable opportunity, and aiming his arrow at Donald Gorm, it struck him and penetrated

his foot through the master vein. Macdonald, not having perceived that the arrow was a barbed one, instantly wrenched it out, and, in so doing, separated the main artery. Notwithstanding that every available means were used, it was found impossible to stop the bleeding, and his men conveyed him out of the range of the fort to a spot—a sand bank—on which he died, called to this day, ‘Larach Tigh Mhic Dhomhnuill,’ or the site of Macdonald’s house, where the haughty Lord of Sleat ended his career. The Islesmen burnt all they could find ashore in Kintail, which is confirmed by the following:—In 1539, Donald Gorm of Sleat and his allies, after laying waste Trouterness in Skye and Kenlochow in Ross, attempted to take the castle of Eileandonain, but Donald being killed by an arrow shot from the wall, the attempt failed.* In 1541, King James V. granted a remission to Donald’s accomplices—namely, Archibald Ilis, *alias* Archibald the Clerk, Alex. MacConnell Gallich, John Dow Donaldsoun, and twenty-six others whose names will be found in the ‘Origines Parochiales,’ p. 394, vol. ii., for their treasonable fire-raising and burning of the ‘Castle of Allanedonnand’ and of the boats there, for the ‘Herschip’ of Kenlochow and Trouterness, &c.”†

Douglas says that Donald Gorm married Margaret daughter of Roderick Macleod of Lewis, while Gregory, a much more reliable authority, says that he married “the heiress of John MacTorquil Macleod, the representative of an elder, though forfeited, branch of the family of Lewis,” who “had obtained possession of the estates and leading of his tribe” for a time, and who was a nephew of Malcolm Macleod, Lord of Lewis, at the period of which we write. By this marriage he left a son,

XV. DONALD GORMESON MACDONALD,

Sixth of Sleat, who, at the time of his father’s death, in 1539, was a minor of tender years, under the tutorship or guar-

* Gregory, pp. 145-146. Border Minstrelsy. Anderson, p. 283. Reg. Sec. Sig., vol. xv., fol. 46.

† History of the Mackenzies, pp. 106-108.

dianship of his grand uncle, Archibald Ilis, or the Clerk. In the following year, 1540, the king determined upon an imposing voyage with the royal fleet to the Western Isles, the preparations for and the progress of which is thus described by Tytler :—"He now meditated an important enterprise, and only waited the confinement of the queen to carry it into effect. The remoter portions of his kingdom, the northern counties, and the Western and Orkney Islands, had, as we have already seen, been grievously neglected during his minority ; they had been torn by the contentions of hostile clans ; and their condition, owing to the incursions of the petty chiefs and pirate adventurers who infested these seas, was deplorable. This the monarch now resolved to redress, by a voyage conducted in person, and fitted out upon a scale which had not before been attempted by any of his predecessors. A fleet of twelve ships was assembled, amply furnished with artillery, provided for a lengthened voyage, and commanded by the most skilful mariners in his dominions. Of these, six ships were appropriated to the king, three were victuallers, and the remaining three carried separately, the cardinal (Beaton), the Earl of Huntly, and the Earl of Arran. Beaton conducted a force of five hundred men from Fife and Angus ; Huntly and Arran brought with them a thousand, and this little army was strengthened by the royal suite, and many barons and gentlemen, who swelled the train of their prince, or followed on this distant enterprise the banner of their chiefs. It was one laudable object of the king in his voyage, to complete an accurate nautical survey of the northern coasts and isles, for which purpose he carried with him Alexander Lindsay, a skilful pilot and hydrographer, whose charts and observations remain to the present day. But his principal design was to overawe the rebellious chiefs, to enforce obedience to the laws, and to reduce within the limits of order and good government a portion of his dominions, which for the last thirty years, had repeatedly refused to acknowledge their dependence upon the Scottish crown.

"On the 22d of May, to the great joy of the monarch

and his people, the queen presented them with a prince, and James, whose preparations were complete, hoisted the royal flag on board the admiral's ship, and, favoured with a serene heaven and a favourable breeze, conducted his fleet along the populous coasts of Fife, Angus, and Buchan, till he doubled the promontory of Kennedar. He next visited the wild shores of Caithness, and, crossing the Pentland Firth, was gratified on reaching the Orkneys by finding these islands in a state of greater improvement and civilisation than he had ventured to expect. Doubling Cape Wrath, the royal squadron steered for the Lewis, Harris, and the isles of North and South Uist ; they next crossed over to Skye, made a descent upon Glenelg, Moidart, and Ardnamurchan, circumnavigated Mull, visited Coll and Tiree, swept along the romantic coast of Argyle, and passing the promontory of Cantire, delayed a while on the shores of Arran, and cast anchor beside the richer and more verdant fields of Bute. Throughout the whole progress the voyage did not exhibit exclusively the stern aspect of a military expedition, but mingled the delights of the chase, of which James was passionately fond, with the graver cares and labours of the monarch and the legislator. The rude natives of these savage and distant regions flocked to the shore, to gaze on the unusual apparition, as the fleet swept past their promontories ; and the mountain and island lords crowded round the royal pavilion, which was pitched upon the beach, to deprecate resentment and proffer their allegiance. The force which was aboard appears to have been amply sufficient to secure a prompt submission upon the part of those fierce chieftains who had hitherto bid defiance to all regular government ; and James, who dreaded lest the departure of the fleet should be a signal for a return of their former courses, insisted that many of them should accompany him to the capital and remain there as hostages for the peaceable deportment of their followers. Some of the most refractory were even thrown into irons and confined aboard the ships, whilst others were treated with a kindness which soon substituted the ties of affectionate allegiance for those of

compulsion and terror. On reaching Dumbarton, the king considered his labours at an end, and giving orders for the fleet to proceed by their former course to Leith, travelled to court only to become exposed to the renewed enmity of his nobles."

Gregory is more particular in the details of the royal expedition, and informs us that Donald Mackay of Strathnaver was seized "without much difficulty". From Sutherland "the fleet proceeded to the Isle of Lewis, where Ruari Macleod, with his principal kinsmen, met the king, and were made to accompany him in his further progress. The west coast of the Isle of Skye was next visited; and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, lord of that part of the island, was constrained to embark in the royal fleet. Coasting round by the north of Skye, the king came to the district of Trouterness, so lately desolated by the Chief of Sleat. Here various chieftains, claiming their descent from the ancient Lords of the Isles, came to meet their sovereign—particularly John Moydartach, captain of the Clanranald, Alexander of Glengarry, and other of 'Ma Coneyllis kyn'. These chieftains hoped to secure the royal favour by coming to meet the king before the course of his voyage led him to their own districts. From Trouterness James proceeded, by the coast of Ross, to Kintail, where he was joined by the Chief of the Mackenzies; and then, sailing southwards by the Sound of Sleat, he visited, in succession, the Isles of Mull and Isla, and the districts of Kintyre and Knapdale, taking with him, on his departure, Hector Maclean of Dowart, and James Macdonald of Isla, the two principal leaders in the south Isles. It is not the least remarkable circumstance connected with this important expedition, that the Earl of Argyll had no prominent command, if, indeed, he was employed at all, which is very doubtful."

The king inspected and expressed his admiration of the fortifications of the Castle of Duntulm, and, arriving at the harbour of Portree, then called *Loch Choluim Cille*, the ships dropped anchor. Tradition bears that the army

landed on the rock upon which the present Scorribreck House is built, hence called *Creag-na-mor Shluagh*, the rock of the multitude ; and that the king and his suite landed at a small creek farther east, hence called *Port-an-righ*, the king's landing place, which thereafter became the name of the Loch and Parish.*

Some of the Island lords were soon after set at liberty on giving hostages for their peaceful behaviour ; while the more turbulent were kept in confinement until some time after the king's death in 1542. The Lordship of the Isles, and North and South Kintyre were, in 1540, as part of the king's policy towards the Islanders, inalienably annexed to the crown. The long cherished hope of the western chiefs to establish the lordship in its ancient glory was thus for the time blasted, and a long peace was expected to succeed the successful voyage of the king ; but these expectations were soon dissipated, for James V. died in the flower of his age, two years after, when he was succeeded by his infant daughter, the unfortunate Mary, during whose reign Scotland was so much distracted, not only by foreign aggression, but by domestic feuds among the powerful factions that contended so keenly for power during her minority.

During the rule of this chief, Donald Dubh again makes his escape from prison, is proclaimed Lord of the Isles, and supported by all the vassals of the ancient Lordship in a second rebellion.

While the Earls of Lennox and Arran were disputing about the regency, and other members of the aristocracy sold themselves to the English King, two great chiefs in the North, Huntly and Argyll, stood firm in their loyalty to Scotland, and thus became objects of the hatred of Henry VIII. of England and the Scottish nobles who had so unpatriotically joined him in his anti-Scottish schemes.

It was in 1543, during this unsettled period of Scottish history, Donald Dubh who had been for nearly forty years kept in hopeless captivity, again managed to effect

* History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye.

his escape. It will be remembered that we parted with him in 1506, a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, and that, with the exception of a few years at that period, he had been a state prisoner from his infancy. Though "stigmatised as a bastard," says Gregory, "he seems really to have been legitimate," and it is certain that he owed his second escape more "to the grace of God than to the goodwill of the Government". In any case he did manage to free himself from his enemies, and on his arrival shortly afterwards in the Isles, "he was received with enthusiasm by the same clans that had formerly supported his claims ; and with their assistance, he prepared to expel the Earls of Argyll and Huntly from their acquisition in the Lordship of the Isles" during his long imprisonment. He soon managed to arrange a truce with Argyll, which was to last until May-day of 1543, the same year in which he secured his liberty ; but meanwhile both were engaged in making preparations for the forthcoming contest. In the month of June following, both Argyll and Huntly are found engaged against the Islanders. About the same time the other Island Chiefs, kept in prison since the late king's voyage to the Isles, were set at liberty by the influence of the English party, so as to enable Donald Dubh the more effectually to cope with the two Earls, who were violently hated by the party in power and by those who pushed on the marriage of the young queen with the son of Henry VIII. against the interest and independence of their own country. Almost immediately after the liberation of the principal Island vassals of the lordship, Donald assembled an army of 1800 men, invaded Argyll's territories, slew many of his followers, and carried away a large number of his cattle, with a great quantity of other plunder. At this period all the vassals of the Isles, except James Macdonald of Isla, followed the banner of Donald Dubh against the Regent, and even Isla soon after joined the other Island lords and fought for the English faction.

In 1544, the terrible feud which broke out between the Macdonalds of Clanranald, under John Moydartach, on the

one hand, and their legitimate chief, Ranald Gallda, and the Frasers on the other, took place and culminated in the sanguinary battle of Blarleine ; but this will be more appropriately dealt with the under CLANRANALD OF MOYDART.

In the following year, 1545, the Macdonalds of Moydart are found supporting the claims of Donald Dubh to the Lordship of the Isles, and fighting under his banner.

At the battle of Ancrum, in the same year, Neil Macneil of Gigha, one of the vassals of the lordship, was present ; but whether as an ambassador from Donald Dubh, or fighting at the head of a body of Islanders, it is difficult to determine. In June following a proclamation is issued by the Regent, Arran, and his Privy Council, against " Donald, alleging himself of the Isles, and other Highlandmen, his part-takers ". The council had been frequently informed of the " invasions " made by them on the queen's lieges in the isles and on the mainland, assisted by the king of England, with whom " they were leagued," and which went to show, it was maintained, that it was their intention, if they could, to bring those parts of Scotland under the government of the king of England in contempt of the Scottish Crown. If Donald and his followers continued their " rebellious and treasonable proceedings," they were threatened with utter ruin and destruction from an invasion of their territories by " the whole body of the realm of Scotland, with the succours lately come from France ". Donald and his followers paid no attention whatever to this threat, and the only effect it had was to throw the Islanders more than ever into the arms of the English. The regent was consequently forced to adopt more stringent measures ; processes of treason were commenced against the more prominent rebels, and these were followed up with as much dispatch as the forms of Parliament would allow. While these proceedings were going on against the Islanders at the instance of the government of Scotland, Donald Dubh, as Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, with the advice and consent of his barons and council, granted a commission to Rorie MacAlaster, dean of Morvern, and Patrick Mac-

lean, justice-clerk of the South Isles, to treat, under direction of the Earl of Lennox, with the English king, as Donald's plenipotentiaries. These gentlemen forthwith addressed a long letter to the Privy Council of Henry VIII., containing the following passage, explanatory of their hostile policy towards the Scottish kingdom. We quote it, modernising the spelling, from a state paper given in a footnote (page 20) of the "Macdonnells of Antrim":—"Wherefore your lordships shall consider we have been old enemies to the Realm of Scotland, and when they had peace with the king's highness (Henry VIII.) they hanged, beheaded, imprisoned, and destroyed many of our kin, friends, and forbears, as testified by our master, the Earl of Ross, who has laid in prison before he was born of his mother, and not relieved with their will, but now, lately, by the grace of God. In likewise the Lord Maclaine's father was cruelly murdered under 'traist' in his bed in Edinburgh, by Sir John Campbell of Calder, brother to the Earl of Argyll. The Captain of Clanranald, this last year ago, in his defence slew the Lord Lovat, his son and heir, his three brothers, with thirteen score of his men; and many other cruel slaughters, burnings, and herschips, the which were long to write."

The barons and council of the Isles who acted on this occasion, not one of whom could sign his name, are given in this document in the following order:—Allan Maclean of Torloisk, Gilleonan Macneil of Barra, Ewin Mackinnon of Strathardill, John Macquarrie of Ulva, Alex. Ranaldson of Glengarry, Alexander Ranaldson of Knoydart, John Maclean of Ardgour, Donald Maclean of Kingairloch, Hector Maclean, Lord of Dowart; John Moydartach MacAlastair, captain of Clanranald; Roderick Macleod of Lewis, Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, Murdoch Maclean of Lochbuy, Angus Macdonald, brother german to James Macdonald; Archibald Macdonald, captain of Clanhuisten; Alexander Macian of Ardnamurchan, and John Maclean of Coll. Gregory, quoting from Tytler, gives the same names, but places them in a different order. The remainder of

Donald Dubh's career cannot better be given than in the words of Gregory, by far the best and most complete authority we have. He says—On the 5th of August the lord and barons of the Isles were at Knockfergus, in Ireland, with a force of four thousand men and a hundred and eighty galleys ; when, in presence of two commissioners sent by the Earl of Lennox, and of the constable, mayor, and magistrates of that town, they took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, “at the command of the said Earl of Lennox”. In all the documents illustrative of these proceedings, we find that Lennox was acknowledged by the Islesmen as the true regent and second person of of the realm of Scotland ; and while, at his command, they gave their allegiance to the English King, they, at the same time, bound themselves in particular to forward Henry's views in regard to the marriage of the Princess of Scotland, and, in all other affairs, to act under the directions of Lennox. The name of James Macdonald of Isla, whose lands of Kintyre had been so lately ravaged by Lennox, does not occur among the Barons of the Isles who accompanied their lord to Knockfergus. It appears also that in the month of April he had even received a reward from Arran for his services against the English. Yet now his brother, Angus Macdonald, was one of the foremost in support of Lennox ; and his own conduct, in the course of a few months, justifies the suspicion that already this powerful chief contemplated joining the rest of the Islanders.

The troops that accompanied the Lord of the Isles to Ireland are described in the original despatches from the Irish Privy Council, giving Henry notice of their arrival, as being “three thousand of them, very tall men, clothed, for the most part, in habergeons of mail, armed with long swords and long bows, but with few guns ; the other thousand, tall maryners that rowed in the galleys”. An equal number of warriors had been left behind, to keep in check the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, forming a total force of eight thousand men now in arms, under the command of a leader who had passed the most of his life in prison, de-

prived of all power and influence. It cannot be doubted that many of the Islanders acted on this occasion from a feeling of attachment to the representative of the family of the Isles, as well as from a deep-rooted hostility to the house of Argyll. But it is equally clear—and unfortunately harmonises too well with the venal conduct of many of the Scottish nobility of the period to admit of question—that English gold must have had a great effect in producing unanimity among tribes so many of which were at deadly feud.*

From Knockfergus the plenipotentiaries of the Island Lord proceeded to the English court, bearing letters of recommendation from their master, both to the king and Privy Council. By the last of these letters it appears that the Lord of the Isles (Donald Dubh) had already received from Henry the sum of one thousand crowns, and the promise of an annual pension of two thousand. After certain articles proposed by the Islesmen, together with their oath of allegiance, had been given in by the Commissioners to the Privy Council, and the opinion of the Earl of Lennox had been taken as to the best mode of proceeding, the following conditions were agreed to on the 4th of September:—The pension of the two thousand crowns was confirmed to the Lord of the Isles by letters patent, and Henry engaged that that nobleman and his followers should be included in any treaty made between England and Scotland. On the other hand, the Lord of the Isles became bound, with all his adherents to serve the King of England truly and faithfully, to the annoyance of the Regent of Scotland and his partisans. He engaged to make no agreement with the Earls of Huntly or Argyll, or with any of the Scots, to the prejudice of the King of England; but, on the contrary, to continue steadfast in his opposition to them and in his allegiance to Henry. It was arranged that the Earl of Lennox, with a body of two thousand Irish, under the Earl

* Anderson in his MS. History of Scotland, says that the Islesmen *elected* Donald for their Lord, as being the chiefest and nearest of blood; and adds, that, besides a pension from the King of England, he was to receive "certaine rich apparel of cloth of gold and silver from the said Earl" of Lennox.—II., p. 47.

of Ormond and Ossory, should lead an expedition against Scotland from the west, in which he was to be assisted by the Lord of the Isles with eight thousand men. As long as Lennox should remain in the country of the Earl of Argyll, the whole eight thousand men were to be placed at his disposal; but, in the event of his proceeding to another part of Scotland—and a march to Stirling was seriously contemplated—it was provided that only six thousand of the Islanders should follow him, while the remaining two thousand should be employed in occupying the attention of the Earl of Argyll. Lastly, three thousand of the Islesmen were to receive pay from the King of England for two months.

In conformity with these arrangements, instructions were given to the Earl of Ormond to levy two thousand Irish foot for the expedition against Scotland, and the other necessary preparations for an armament of such importance were actively carried on by the Irish Privy Council. But at this moment the Earl of Hertford, who was about to invade Scotland from the border, required the presence of Lennox in his camp; and the western invasion was necessarily postponed till the termination of the campaign. This delay caused, in the end, the total failure of the expedition. The Lord of the Isles, after waiting for some time in vain, expecting the arrival of Lennox, and naturally anxious about the safety of the vassals he had left behind, returned with his forces to Scotland. Meantime, dissensions had arisen among his barons as to the division of the English pay received for three thousand of their men, and their quarrels ran so high that the army seems to have been broken up, whilst the chiefs retired each to his own castle.*

* Highlands and Isles, p. 170-174. Donald Munro, High Dean of the Isles, in his description of Skye, written in 1549, says, in this Isle there are "12 paroch kirkes, manurit and inhabit," fertile lands for oates, excelling any other ground for grazing and pastures, many woods, many forests, many deer, fair hunting games, and "many grate hills". There are also six castles, to wit, the Castle of Dunvegan, belonging to Macleod of Harris, "ane Starke Strengthe biggit upon ane craig"; the castles of Dunakyne and Dunringill, belonging to Mackinnon; the Castle of Camus, in Sleat, the Castle of Dunskaich, and the Castle of Duntulm, the latter three "pertaining to Donald Gormeson".

Donald Dubh again returned to Ireland with the Earl of Lennox, where, according to the Macvurich MS., he went "to raise men ; but he died on his way to Dublin, at Drogheda, of a fever, without issue, either sons or daughters". Documents in the State Paper Office prove, however, that he left "one bastard son," whom, Gregory informs us, Donald Dubh "in his dying moments commended to the care of the King of England ; but it does not appear that any claim was made on behalf of this individual to the succession". Thus ended the career of this unfortunate Island Lord, who, whether legitimate by birth or not, was recognised by all the vassals of the Lordship of the Isles as their natural and legitimate leader.

On the death of Donald Dubh, in 1545, no other possible claimant (except his bastard son), legitimate or illegitimate, remained between the Macdonalds of Sleat and the representation of the last line of the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles ; but they were, at the time, almost deprived of power. It has been already seen that their chief was at this period a minor, while "the title of the family to their estates was disputed by the Macleods of Harris," who did not fail to revive their claims at a period when they thought their chance of success in enforcing it had materially improved. The comparatively humble position of the house of Sleat at this period may be inferred from the fact that the Islanders, after the death of Donald Dubh, made choice of James Macdonald of Isla as their leader, a chief whose pretensions to the Lordship of the Isles were certainly far inferior to those of Donald Gorm of Sleat ; but his greater power as an individual soon outweighed the higher and more legitimate claims of the chief of Sleat. He was, however, opposed by many of those who were the stoutest supporters of Donald Dubh—such as the Macleans (with the exception of Allan Maclean of Gigha and Torloisk, better known as "Alein na'n Sop") the Macleods, the Macneils of Barra, the Mackinnons, and the Macquarries ; all of whom acted independently, and sought, with success, to effect their own reconciliation with the Regent. It is

certainly curious to find James Macdonald of Isla, who had hitherto opposed all the other Island Lords in their opposition to the Scottish Regent, now becoming their leader, and placing himself at their head against the government which he had all through, single-handed, among the chiefs, continued to support. Gregory, however, naively suggests that his patriotism "evaporated on his perceiving a possibility of obtaining the pension of two thousand crowns promised to his predecessor," Donald Dubh, by the English; while the author of "The Macdonnells of Antrim" says that the choice "was indeed remarkable, as he had strenuously opposed the whole movement of his brother chieftains in favour of Donald Dhu. They, nevertheless, elected him Lord of the Isles, which may have been done, principally, to detach him from the Regent's service; and it seems to have had that effect, at least for a time." The same authority proceeds to say that "on the 10th of February, 1546, a messenger appeared in Dublin, bringing a letter from James Macdonnell, which announced his appointment, and contained proposals for the consideration of the Privy Council". The document, which under the circumstances, must be regarded as a curious and somewhat extraordinary communication, is (modernised in spelling) as follows:—

At Ardnamurchan, the 24th day of January, the year of
God, one thousand five hundred and forty-six.

We, James Macdonald of Dunyveg and the Glens, and apparent heir of the Isles, grants us to send a special letter directed from your Lordship to our kinsmen and allies, thinking the effect and form of their promises to the King of the Inland's Majesty, to fortify and supply our noble cousin, Matthew, Earl of Lennox. Wherefore we exhort and press your Lordship, my Lord-Depute of Ireland, with the well advised Council of Dublin, to show in our behalf, and explain to the King's Majesty, that we are ready, after our extreme power, our kinsmen and allies—namely, our cousin, Allan Maclean of Gigha, Clanranald, Clanchameron, Clanian, and our own surname, both north and south, to take part with the Earl of Lennox, or any whomsoever the King's Majesty pleases, to have authorised or constituted by his grace, in Scotland; loyally and truly the foresaid King's Majesty sending part of power to us, in company with the said Earl of Lennox, in one honest army to the Isle of Sanda, beside Kintyre, on Saint Patrick's Day next to come, or thereby, 'athowe' the said most excellent Prince giveth to us his Majesty's reward and succour, bond

conforming and equivalent to his Grace's bond made to our 'cheyf maister, Donald Lord Yllis, qhowm God asolzeit,' who died in his Grace's service ; this being accepted, promised, and admitted, we require two or three ships to be sent to us, to be at an 'expremit' place, with this bearer, Hector Donaldsone, being pilot to the same, twenty days' (notice) before the army comes, that we might be 'fornest' and gathered against the coming of the said army, to whom please your Lordship will give firm credence in our behalf. And for keeping and observing of these present promises, desiring suchlike to be sent to us with the said ships, we have affixed our proper seal to the same, with our subscription manual, the day, year, and place above 'expremit'.

(Signed) JAMES McCONIL of Dunnewaik and Glenis.

To this document the English king made no reply, his attention being now probably taken up with the events which led up to the Reformation in Scotland, and the plots for getting rid of Cardinal Beaton, who opposed it as well as the English attempt to force on a marriage between Prince Edward, son of Henry VIII., and the young Queen of Scots, and who soon fell a victim to his efforts, for he was assassinated on the 28th of May, 1546, in the castle of St. Andrews. James Macdonald soon dropped his newly assumed title of Lord of the Isles, became once more a patriotic Scot, finally got into favour with the Regent, and remained a loyal subject of the Scottish crown as long as he lived.

Various feuds were carried on among the Islanders during the next forty years, but we find little or no notice of the Macdonalds of Sleat and their chief. In June, 1554, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were ordered to proceed, by land and sea, "to the utter extermination of the Clanranald, of Donald Gormeson (the heir of Sleat), and of Macleod of Lewis, and their associates, who had failed to present hostages for their good conduct".* They, however, met with little success. In 1565, the Earl of Argyll took part in the rebellion of the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Murray, which originated in the opposition which arose to the marriage of Queen Mary with Lord Darnley. Among the western chiefs who were summoned to meet the Earl of Athole in Lorn, on the 20th of September in that year, commanding the royal army, we find Ruari Macleod of

* Gregory, p. 183. Reg. of Privy Seal, xxvi., fo. 57.

Lewis, Tormod Macleod of Harris, Donald Gormeson of Sleat, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. The rebels, however, took flight to the Lowlands and their leaders to England, and it was found unnecessary to lead Athole's followers to Lorn. The grasping Argyll, who had been pardoned shortly after, soon found means to extend his influence again over the Macdonalds of Skye and North Uist, in the crafty manner characteristic of his house.

Gregory says that in this reign, the Earl of Argyll contrived to extend his influence into the North Isles, and over two of the most powerful tribes in that quarter, the Clandonald of Skye and North Uist, and the Clanleod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg. The mode in which this object was attained is so characteristic of the house of Argyll that it seems to merit some detail, in reference to the rapid increase of the power of that noble family.

William Macleod of Harris, chief of the "Siol Tormod," was the undisputed proprietor of the estates of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, under a particular destination, which, on his death in 1553, caused these extensive possessions to descend to his daughter and heiress, Mary.* He was, at the same time, nominal proprietor of Sleat, Trouterness, and North Uist, the possession of which we have seen, the Siol Tormod had unsuccessfully disputed with the Clandonald. On the death of William Macleod, his claim to the last mentioned estates was inherited by his brother and heir male, Donald.† The Siol Tormod was now placed in a position which, though quite intelligible on the principles of feudal war, was totally opposed to the Celtic customs that prevailed to a great extent throughout the Highlands and Isles. A female and a minor was the legal proprietrix of the ancient possessions of the tribe, which, by her marriage, might be conveyed to another and hostile family; whilst her uncle, the natural leader of the clan, according to ancient custom, was left without any means to keep up the dignity of a chief, or to support the clan against its enemies. His

* Reg. of Great Seal, xiii. No. 305; xxvi. 446.

† Collectanea de rebus Albanicis, p. 45.

claims on the estates possessed by the Clandonald were worse than nugatory, as they threatened to involve him in a feud with that powerful and warlike tribe, in case he should take any steps to enforce them. In these circumstances Donald Macleod seized, apparently with the consent of his clan, the estates which legally belonged to his niece, the heiress ; and thus, in practice, the feudal law was made to yield to ancient and inveterate custom. Donald did not enjoy these estates long, being murdered in Trouterness by a relation of his own, John Og Macleod, who, failing Tormod, the only remaining brother of Donald, would have become the heir male of the family.* John Og next plotted the destruction of Tormod, who was at the time a student in the University of Glasgow ; but in this he was foiled by the interposition of the Earl of Argyll. He contrived, notwithstanding, to retain possession of the estates of the heiress, and of the command of the clan, till his death in 1559.† In the meantime, the feudal rights of the wardship, relief, and marriage of the heiress of Harris, were eagerly sought after by various powerful individuals. They were first bestowed, in 1553, by the Regent Arran, upon the Earl of Huntly, who afterwards proposed to sell his interest in the heiress and her property, to the fourth Earl of Argyll, for a large sum of money.‡ But Huntly, having fallen into disgrace with the Queen Regent, as formerly mentioned, was compelled to relinquish his bargain with Argyll, and to resign into her hand the claims he had acquired from Arran to the guardianship of Mary Macleod.§ The regent, while endeavouring, in 1559, to secure the assistance of James Macdonald of Isla against the Protestants, of whom the fifth Earl of Argyll was one of the principal leaders, committed the feudal guardianship of the young heiress to that chief.|| In 1562, we find that the person of

* MS. History of the Macleods.

† Ibid.

‡ Collectanea de rebus Albanicis, i. 137, 138.

§ Ibid, 141. Anderson's History of Scotland MS. Adv. Lib. ii. 174.

|| Sadler's State Papers, ii. 431.

the young lady had, by some accident, come into the custody of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, who, having refused to give her up to the lawful guardian, James Macdonald, was at length compelled to deliver her to Queen Mary, with whom she remained for some years as a maid of honour, being, no doubt, one the Queen's celebrated *Maries*.* Macdonald seems now to have made over his claims to Argyll, who finally exercised the right of guardianship, by giving Mary Macleod in marriage to his kinsman, Duncan Campbell, younger of Auchinbreck.† But previous to the marriage, the Earl, sensible of the difficulty which would attend any attempt to put an individual of his clan in possession of the territories of the Siol Tormod, even although he had the law in his favour, entered into the following arrangements, the most judicious that could be devised for making the most of his position at the time. His first agreement at the time was with Tormod Macleod, who had been for some years in actual possession of Harris and the estates of the heiress, and had already given to the Earl (for the good offices of the latter) his bond of service for himself and his clan.‡ It was arranged that Macleod should renounce, in favour of Argyll, all claims he had to the lands of Clandonald; that he should likewise pay the sum of one thousand merks towards the dowry of his niece. Argyll, on the other hand, engaged to procure from Mary Macleod, and any husband she might marry, a complete surrender of her title to the lands of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg; and to obtain for Tormod a crown charter of that estate.§ His next agreement was with Donald MacDonald Gorm of Sleat; and in consideration of that chief paying five hundred merks towards the dowry of Mary Macleod, and of his likewise giving his bond of service for himself and his clan to Argyll, the latter engaged to

* *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 143-4.

† *Ibid*, p. 151, and *Histories of both families*.

‡ A contract to this effect, dated in 1559, will be found in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albancis*, p. 91.

§ *Ibid*, p. 145. The contract is dated 24th February, 1566-7.

make him his vassal in the lands of Trouterness, Sleat, and North Uist, to which the Macdonalds had at present no legal claim.* Argyll's agreement with Tormod Macleod was actually carried into effect ;† but circumstances seem to have interfered with the final completion of his contract with Macdonald. It is evident, however, that, although in the case of the Siol Tormod, at this time, ancient custom prevented the feudal law of succession from being carried into effect in its full extent, yet the Earl of Argyll did not surrender his legal claims without indemnifying himself amply for the sacrifice.‡

To those who have perused the past volumes of the "Celtic Magazine" and "The History of the Mackenzies," we need not here detail the terrible feuds and battles which took place between the Macleods of Lewis and Mackenzies of Kintail from about this period until the Macleods were almost exterminated, and their island principality acquired by the Mackenzies. In these struggles the Macdonalds of Sleat at first supported the Macleods, the result being that their territories in Skye were often ravaged and plundered by the Mackenzies. The violent proceedings of the two clans attained to such a pitch that they commanded the attention of the government, and, on the 1st of August, 1569, a Decree-Arbitral by the Regent Earl of Murray, was entered into at Perth, between Donald Gormeson Macdonald of Sleat and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, which is couched, after the usual preamble, in the following terms, the spelling being modernised :—

"The variances, controversies, debates, depredations, incursions, slaughters, herschips, and all others committed, and standing in question betwixt Donald Gormesoun of Skye, his friends, servants, tenants, and attendants, on the one part ; and Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, John Mackenzie of Gairloch, and the remanent, his kin, friends, servants, and

* *Collectanea de rebus Albanicis*, p. 147. The contract is dated 4th March, 1566-7.

† Reg. of Great Seal, xxxiii. 9. MS. History of Macleods, quoting a royal charter to Tormod, dated 4th August, 1579.

‡ Highlands and Isles, pp. 203-207,

dependants, on the other part ; being referred aud compromised in the person of the noble and mighty Lord, James Earl of Murray, Lord Abernethy, Regent to our Sovereign Lord, his realm, and lieges personally accepting the same in presence of the said parties, his Grace having certain of the Secret Council present with him, and at length advising and consulting about the enormities and offences committed by either of them, and willing to reduce the said parties to their pristine amity, friendship and kindness, both for their own weal and the common weal and public 'commodite' of the country and our Sovereign Lord's lieges thereabout, evil-handled and oppressed. Decerns, decrees, delivers, and for final sentence and bond arbitral pronounces : That either of the said parties, taking the burden upon them for their kin, friends, servants, and partakers, shall forgive, bury, extinguish, and forget all manner of slaughters, herschips, spuilzies, depredations, fire-raising, damages, injuries, and destructions committed by them or any of their causing and command in any times bygone before the date hereof : Like as either of the said parties by these presents consents thereto, allows and confirms the same, and shall enter into reconciliation, friendship, and amity each one with the other, remain and abide therein in all time coming, according to the duty of God's servants and their Prince's dutiful subjects, laws of God and man : And in special decerns and ordains the said Donald to cause *Rory Mac Allan, alias Nimhneach*, and all others, the said Donald's kin, &c., to desist and cease from all troubling, molesting, harming, or invasion, of the said Laird of Gairloch's lands, 'rowmes,' possessions, tenants, servants, and goods, in any time coming, and suffer him and them peaceably to 'brouke' and enjoy the same in all time coming, as their heritage at their pleasure, and upon the same part in case the said Rory Nimhneach will not obey, stand, and abide by this decret, the said Donald shall, like as, in that case he by these presents discharges himself of the said Rory, and (will) neither support, aid, nor give him any manner of maintenance, nor suffer any of his friends, ser-

vants, tenants, lands or bounds, receive or give him help or residence of any sort, but expel and hold him off the same, and invade and pursue him to the uttermost, as they shall answer to my Lord Regent's grace, upon their duty and obedience : And, on the other part, decerns and ordains Colin Mackenzie of Kintail to cause Torquil Macleod, *alias* Connanach, and all others, his friends, servants, and part-takers, to desist and cease from troubling, harming, molesting, or invasion of the said Donald Gormesoun, his lands, &c., in any time coming, and suffer him peaceably to 'brouke,' enjoy, and use the same in all times coming, as his heritage and kindly 'rowmes,' conform to his rights and titles thereof ; and in case the said Torquil Macleod refuse [obligation by Mackenzie the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as that given by Donald Gormesoun regarding Rory Nimhneach]. AND ATTOUR in case any slaughters, murders, or herschips, be committed by any of the said parties' friends, tenants, and dependants, without the said parties' own advice or command, in that case the party aggrieved shall complain to the other, and desire reformation, assessment, and amends, and if he refuses, shall not seek satisfaction by his own force and power, but seek the same by the ordinary course of justice and law of this realm : Whereunto either party by these presents, as they are in duty obliged, restricts them, excluding and discharging all other means and ways of revenge and amends-taking : And in case, as God forbid, any of the said parties, their friends, servants, tenants, and dependants fail therein, or does anything contrary hereof ; in that case my Lord Regent's Grace wills and pronounces him to be a plain and open enemy to the party failing, and will defend, assist, and maintain the party aggrieved to his uttermost : And also declares in that case, all herschips, crimes, slaughters, fire-raising, and other offences above discharged and taken away by this present compromise, shall be again wakened and restored in the same place they were before the making hereof, to be pursued and followed by the party offended, such like, and in the same manner

and conditions, in all respects, as if this present decret had never been made or given.”*

Though the Macdonalds of Sleat seem to have been constantly engaged in several local broils with neighbouring families during the reign of Donald, they do not appear to have got into any serious trouble with the Government while he was at their head.

Referring to the latter part of Donald Gormeson's rule—the period between the return of Queen Mary from France and the actual assumption of the government by her son, James VI., in the nineteenth year of his age, in 1585—the same year in which this chief of Sleat died, Gregory informs us that “the general history of the Highlands and Isles possesses little interest. Repeated failures seem to have made the Western clans sensible of the impossibility of re-establishing, in any shape, the old Lordship of the Isles; and they gradually learned to prefer holding their lands under the sovereign directly, to being vassals of any subject, however powerful. Having now no longer a common object, they became, by degrees, more estranged from each other, whilst each chief laboured to extend his own possessions, or to defend himself from the aggressions of his more powerful neighbours. It thus happened that, without any insurrection of a general nature, there were yet, during the interval of which we speak, many serious disturbances in the Highlands and Isles, which called for the interference of the government.” Such was the state of the country during the latter part of Donald Gormeson's career.

He married Mary, daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart, and by her had issue—

1. Donald, his heir.

2. Archibald, the clerk, who married Margaret, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Isla and the Glynnns, ancestor of the family of Antrim, and by her had a son, Donald, who succeeded his uncle, as head of the family of Sleat; and a daughter, Maria, who married, as his first wife, Ranald, second son of Allan Macdonald, VIII. of Clanranald, whose

* *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 92-94.

descendants, by the second marriage, succeeded to the estates, and became head of the family, on the failure of the direct male heirs of Sir Donald in Ranald XIII. of Clanranald.

He also had a son Hugh or Uistean, of whom immediately.

3. Alexander, of whose issue, if any, nothing is known.

He died in 1585, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XVI. DONALD GORM MOR MACDONALD,

Seventh baron of Sleat. Immediately on his succession this chief became involved in serious disputes with his neighbours, the Macleans, through the treachery of his nephew, a son of his brother Archibald, and a desperate character known as "Uistean Mac Ghilleaspuig Chleirich," Hugh, son of Archibald the clerk. The chief of Sleat in 1585, having gone to pay a complimentary visit to his relative, Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, in Isla, and accompanied by the usual retinue befitting his rank, was forced by stress of weather to take shelter in the Island of Jura, on a part of it belonging at the time to Maclean of Duart. At the same time Uistean Mac Ghilleaspuig Chleirich, and a son of Donald Herrach—already referred to as the ancestor of the Macdonalds of Balranald, were by the same cause driven into a neighbouring creek for shelter. Learning that their chief lay so near them, these vassals, says Gregory, carried off, by night, a number of cattle from Maclean's lands and took to sea, in the expectation that Donald Gorm and his party would be blamed by the Macleans for the robbery, and suffer accordingly. Their malicious design, unfortunately, took effect, for in the course of the following night the men of Skye were attacked by a superior body of the Macleans; and, as they apprehended no danger, fell an easy prey to the assailants. Sixty of the Macdonalds were slain, and their chief only escaped the same fate from the circumstance of his accidentally sleeping on board his galley on the night of the attack. He immediately returned to Skye, much exasperated at what he had reason to believe was such an unprovoked attack, and

vowed vengeance against the Macleans ; feelings which quickly spread amongst all the Macdonalds and their allies. Violent measures of retaliation were immediately resorted to, and carried to such an extent, that, in the month of September, we find the king writing to Macleod of Harris, earnestly requesting him to assist Maclean against Clاندonald, who had already done much injury to Maclean and his followers, and threatened to do more.* The original letter, dated 18th September, 1585, is in the Macleod charter chest, in Dunvegan Castle. All the Macdonalds joined to revenge the insult offered to the chief of Sleat, and the terrible slaughter of his followers, for the unscrupulous and treacherous misdeeds of a character of whose conduct on the present occasion they were as ignorant as they were innocent. Angus Macdonald of Isla became the principal leader in the sanguinary battles which followed, but he was well supported by the chief of Sleat.

From the New Statistical Account of the Parish of Kilmuir, Isle of Skye, written, in 1841, by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A., then residing in the parish, we extract the following version of this treacherous act :—“ A secret plot was laid to deprive Donald Gorm Mor of his property, which was devised and artfully carried on by his own nephew, Uistean Mac Gilleaspuig Chleirich (Hugh, the son of Archibald the clerk), a very powerful and treacherous man. Seeing that his uncle, Donull Gorm, had no issue, and that the property would, in consequence, devolve upon his elder brother, Donull Gorm Og Mac Gilleaspuig Chleirich, he resolved to usurp it by power and stratagem. For this purpose he secretly contrived to gain over to his cause as many of the clan as possible, at the same time pretending to his uncle to be on the best possible terms with him. The first preparation for the accomplishment of his schemes was the building of a large tower or castle on the farm of Peinduin, in the adjoining parish of Snizort. This tower, still called ‘Caisteal Uistean’ *i.e.*, Hugh’s castle, was never entirely finished. It was erected on a rock by the sea-side, and had neither

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 230-81.

doors nor windows, but was to be entered on the top by means of ladders, which could be pulled up and let down at pleasure. The ruins of this castle are still several feet in height. It is said that Donull Gorm had but little suspicion of his nephew's intrigues until he commenced the building of this unique fortress, which he did under other pretences, by the permission of his uncle. A few years afterwards, however, Donull Gorm had more direct proof of his nephew's intentions. Having had occasion to pay a visit to his kinsman at Dunyveg, in Isla, he set out from his castle at Duntulm." Mr. Macgregor then gives an account of what occurred on the Island of Jura very much the same as that already quoted from Gregory, and proceeds—"Soon after Donald Gorm's return at that time to his castle of Duntulm, he had a letter from his treacherous nephew, Uistean, which was the means of bringing his plots clearly to light. Uistean being in Uist, with a view to procure as many adherents as possible, wrote a letter to one of his confederates in Skye, revealing all his plans, while at the same time he wrote another letter, full of friendly expressions, to his uncle at Duntulm. It is said that, while both letters were closed and sealed, he committed an egregious mistake for his own unrighteous cause, by addressing his confederate's letter to his uncle and *vice versa*; by which awkward oversight Donald Gorm was, from Uistean's own handwriting, led to a knowledge of all his schemes. Before the usurper was aware of what he had done, Donald Gorm despatched a messenger to his kinsman and relative, Donull Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais in Uist, to seize Uistean, and bring him prisoner to Duntulm. Without loss of time Donull Mac Ian put his liege lord's instructions into execution. He resorted to the house where Uistean resided, and as he approached with a strong retinue, the usurper dreaded that all was not right, and seeing the impossibility of effecting his escape, had barely time to dress himself in female attire, and to commence grinding with a quern, or hand-mill, at which the inmates had been at the time engaged. The size and masculine appearance

of the grinder soon attracted the notice of the party when they entered the house. They laid hold of him, but his great agility and bodily strength, together with his being rendered violent by despair, made it doubtful for a time whether or not the party could retain him. At length, being encumbered with his dress, and unable any longer to defend himself against the men who surrounded him, he was seized, fastly bound, and carried prisoner to the family seat in this parish (Kilmuir). He was cast into the dungeon of the castle, which was a dark, secluded vault on the ground-floor of the edifice, where he was chained in the centre of the apartment. He was fed on salt beef, and when he stretched forth his hand to grasp a covered pitcher which was placed near him, and which he no doubt supposed to contain water, he found it empty! Writhing in agony with thirst, he found neither alleviation nor repose until death put an end to his sufferings."

Lachlan Mor Maclean, was able for a time to get the best of the quarrel with the Macdonalds. On one occasion he put to death no less than five hundred and six of them, and to secure a truce with him Macdonald had to grant Maclean one half of his Isla territories; whereupon the latter returned to Mull. The Macdonalds were generally, on this account, highly exasperated, and a powerful league was formed, under Donald Gorm of Sleat, to revenge their past misfortunes, composed of the Macdonalds of Kintyre, Skye, Ardnamurchan, Clanranald, and the subordinate clans of Macneil of Gigha, Macalisters of Loup, and the Macphees of Colonsay, with the assistance of Maclean of Borreray, who held his lands of Donald Gorm of Sleat as his feudal superior. This powerful force assembled and entered Maclean's territories in Mull, so suddenly that he was quite unprepared to meet them, having no forces ready to take the field, and he was obliged to retreat with all the inhabitants of the lower grounds along the sea coast to the mountains, whither they carried all their moveable property, under his immediate command, and encamped at *Lichd Li*. The Macdonalds meanwhile

sailed up Loch-nan-gall on the west coast of Mull, and, embarking, marched and pushed forward their outposts within three miles of where the Macleans were encamped. The Macdonalds of Sleat having taken a prominent part in this expedition, we shall give the following account of it from the history of the clan Maclean :—Lachlan Mor Maclean gave strict orders that no one should advance beyond a certain pass, at which it was his intention to dispute the progress of his enemies when they attempted to force it. Contrary to his intentions, however, a bold and spirited youth, Ian an Inner (or John of Innerscadell), son of Maclean of Ardgour, who commanded the detached parties, and whose bravery on this occasion overmatched his prudence, could not witness the insulting advance of the Macdonalds without some attempt to check them; he advanced from the post assigned to him, and with a few followers attacked the advanced party at Sron-na-Cranalich; the result was the loss of almost every individual of his faithful band, one of whom was Allan, son of Maclean of Treshinish, a youth of much promise, and whose death was deeply lamented.

Early the following day the invaders moved forward with the intention to attack the Macleans in their position. On the march, as they were approaching the pass already mentioned, Maclean of Borreray, while marching at the head of his men, was observed to be wrapped in an unusual reverie of thoughtfulness. Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, the chief commander of the invaders, and whose immediate follower Borreray on this occasion was, approached him, and inquired of him if the cause of his particularly thoughtful mood did not arise from a reluctance to fight against his clan and kinsmen; and if so, that he was welcome to fall back into the rear and resign his “post to such as might not be deterred from doing their duty by such treacherous scruples.” “*Treacherous scruples*,” replied Maclean, “I entertain not; more care for *thee*, and thy followers makes me in mood melancholy,” and, in a half suppressed tone, as if addressing himself, he

added, "that horrid ! and, I fear, ominously fatal dream !" Macdonald, with fearful anxiety, inquired what dream ? "Listen," said Borreray, "you shall hear : at the middle hour of the night, as a peaceful slumber came o'er me, a voice distinctly repeated the following lines to me :—

An Lichd-Li sin, O ! Lichd-Li !
 'S ann ort-sa bheirear an dith !
 'S iad Clann-Ghilleain a bheir buaidh,
 Air an t' shluagh a thig air tir ;
 An Gearna Dubh sin, 's i 'n Gearna Dubh,
 'S ann innte dhoirtear an fhuil ;
 Marbhar an Ridire ruadh,
 Mu'n teid claidheamh 'n truaill an diugh.

Feared Lichd Lee* Ah ! dread Lichd Lee !
 Direful are the deeds the fates have doomed on thee ?
 Defeated by the sons of Gillean the invading multitude shall be,
 On thee Gearna Dubh† streams of blood shall flow ;
 And the bold Red Knight shall meet his death ere a sword is sheathed.

Borreray's dream worked with the most happy effect upon the superstitious credulity of the red knight of Sleat; for finding the Macleans in full force and most advantageously posted at the pass of Gearna Dubh (the dreaded spot where the fates had prophesied his downfall), the Macdonalds instantly sounded a retreat, and pursued as they were by the Macleans, aided by the artful but worthy Borreray, who now took his opportunity, accompanied by his followers, to change sides, the best Macdonald was he that could best run. They were, however, overtaken at the very spot where but the day before they landed in high hope of making an easy prey of those before whom they were now flying ; and so panic-struck and confused were they that hardly any resistance was made to the merciless attack of the Macleans at the place of embarkation, prodigious numbers being slain without the loss of a single individual on the side of their assailants.

Soon after this the Macdonalds again returned to be revenged on the Macleans, but they were defeated severely

* Lichd Lee, the spot where the Macleans were encamped, so named from the ground being partially covered with a pavement of smooth flat rocks.

† A projecting rock or precipice, forming the key of the position occupied by the Macleans.

at the Island of Bachca, a little south of Kerrera, with a loss of over three hundred Macdonalds, while among a large number of prisoners were Donald Gorm Mor of Sleat, Macian of Ardnamurchan, Macleod of Lewis, and Macphee of Colonsay, while the Macleans are said only to have lost "two common soldiers killed, and one gentleman of the Morvern Macleans wounded". The Macdonalds are said by their enemies to have been 2500 strong while the Macleans only numbered 1200.

The government now interfered, and Maclean not only had to release his prisoners, but had to give hostages to Macdonald for his future good behaviour. These hostages were afterwards, by proclamation from the council, to be given up to the young Earl of Argyll or his guardians, and to be conveyed by them wherever his Majesty might direct, until a final settlement of the matters in dispute between the Macdonalds and the Macleans. Macdonald was promised a pardon for his share in the recent slaughters; and the heads of both clans, with their principal supporters and allies, were charged to remain quiet and abstain "from all conventions or gathering in arms, and from all attacks upon each other; so as not to hinder or disturb his Majesty in his attempts to bring about a settlement of their various disputes".

The king wrote a letter, dated 20th April, 1587, with his own hand, to the Earl of Huntly, regarding the affairs of the Isles, in which he says:—"Right-trusty cousin and councillor, we greet you heartily well. We doubt not but the cruelties and disorders in the Isles these years bygone have greatly moved you, whereanent we intend, God willing, to take some special pains ourself, as well there as in the Borders, where we have been lately occupied. . . . Always fearing that the Islesmen within the bounds of your lieutenancy shall press or make some rising and gathering, before conveniently we may put orders to the matters standing in controversy in the West Isles, we desire you effectuously that with all goodly diligence you send to Donald Gormeson, M'Cloyd of the Lewis, M'Cloyd of the

Harrich, the Clanrannald, and others being of power in these parts, willing and commanding them to contain themselves in quietness, and that they forbear to make any manner of convention or gatherings to the hinder and disturbance of our good deliberations, for we have written effectuously to Angus M'Connell, and have spoken with M'Clane, being here for the same effect. And so not doubting but you will do what in you lies, that all things remain quiet and in good order within the bounds of your charge, as ye will do us special and acceptable service. Commit you in the protection of Almighty God.”*

An important Act of Parliament, commonly known as the “General Band” or Bond, was passed at this time, which made it imperative on all landlords, baillies, and chiefs of clans, to find sureties to a very large amount in proportion to their resources and the number of their vassals, for the peaceable behaviour of their followers, and provision was made that if any superior, after having provided the necessary securities, should fail in making immediate reparation for any injuries committed by any of those for whom he was held responsible, the aggrieved party might proceed at law against the sureties for the damage done, and if he failed in reimbursing his securities, he was to forfeit a heavy penalty, in addition, to the crown.

In 1589, we find remissions granted to the Island chiefs for all the crimes committed by them “during the late feud,” and among those who were, in consequence, induced to visit Edinburgh to consult with the king and council “for the good rule of the country,” we find Lachlan Maclean of Duart, Angus Macdonald of Isla, and Donald Gorm Mor of Sleat. By a breach of faith which no circumstances can palliate, these three chiefs were, by order of the government, seized and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and Maclean of Isla was treacherously brought to trial for the crimes previously pardoned by remissions under the Privy Seal. They were, however, afterwards pardoned, released, and permitted to return home on payment of heavy fines,

* *Invernessiana*, pp. 245-46.

amounting, according to one authority, to twenty thousand pounds each, under the designation of arrears and crown rents, in addition to other harsh conditions. The pardons were only to remain in force in the event of their fulfilling these harsh conditions in every particular, the king at the same time holding himself free to pronounce sentence of death and forfeiture upon them in case of future disobedience. Isla, before he was liberated, had to give in to the council his two sons and one of his nearest relations as hostages, for his appearance on a fixed day, and even if he did appear as arranged, his hostages were to be detained until his relative, Donald Gorm of Sleat, who was liberated at the same time, should place hostages in the hands of the council for implementing the conditions of his release, which, in the latter case, was four thousand pounds, under the name of crown rents and feudal casualties for his lands. John Campbell, of Calder, guardian to the young Earl of Argyll, became surety for implementing these conditions by the two Macdonald chiefs, and having, on the application of Bowes, the English ambassador, found further sureties for their good behaviour towards the government of Ireland, they were finally liberated. Circumstances followed which led them afterwards to abstain from carrying out the conditions of their release, and finally they placed themselves in open and avowed opposition to government. They were consequently, on the 14th of July, charged to appear before the Privy Council to fulfil the conditions of release imposed upon them, and failing their appearance the pardons previously granted to them were to be declared null, and immediate steps to be taken to forfeit their lands and other possessions, while Isla's hostages, including his two sons, were to be executed. These proceedings were afterwards ratified by a Parliament held in June, 1592, when the three estates agreed to assist his Majesty with their "bodies, counsel, and whole force to make his authority be obeyed by his subjects, and to cause the treasonable and barbarous rebels of Hielandis and Ilis to be punished and repressed, as they have worthily

deserved." To carry this agreement into effect there were produced in Parliament, next year, summonses of treason, duly executed, against Angus Macdonald of Isla, Donald Gorm of Sleat, John Macian of Ardnamurchan, and others their associates, for certain crimes of treason and lese-majesty committed by them ; but the more important proceedings against the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Errol, and other Catholic lords who were at the time plotting with Philip of Spain for the restoration of the Catholic religion in Scotland, prevented the government from carrying out for the time their proceedings against the Island chiefs. In June, 1594, however, they, with Maclean of Duart, still remaining contumacious, were forfeited by Parliament. Donald Gorm, little concerned as to this, with Ruari Mor Macleod of Harris, led 500 each of their followers to Ulster to assist Red Hugh O'Donnel, chief of the Irish branch of the Siol Cuinn, at the time in rebellion against the English Queen Elizabeth. After meeting with Red Hugh and enjoying his hospitality for three days, Donald Gorm bade him farewell and returned home, leaving his followers in Ireland under command of his brother. In the following year we find Donald Gorm and Macdonald of Isla, on the application of the English ambassador, charged by the Privy Council to desist from assisting the Irish rebels.

The Island chiefs still continued contumacious, and early in 1596, to compel their submission, "the king, by advice both of the Privy Council and of the estates of Parliament, then sitting, resolved to proceed against the Islanders in person. A proclamation to this effect was issued in the month of May, by which all Earls, Lords, Barons, and freeholders worth above three hundred merks of yearly rent, and the whole burgesses of the realm were summoned to meet his Majesty at Dumbarton, on the 1st day of August, well armed, and with forty days' provisions ; and likewise provided with vessels to carry them to the Isles. Disobedience to this summons was to infer loss of life, lands, and goods. The effect of this proclamation was soon evident. Maclean and Macdonald of Sleat imme-

diately repaired to court, and upon making their submission and satisfying the demands of the exchequer, by agreeing to augment their rents, and to make certain other concessions, were received into favour, and restored against the acts of forfeiture under which they had been for two years. Roderick Macleod of Harris and Donald (Mac Angus) of Glengarry made their submission about the same time.”* The original papers connected with Donald Gorm’s submission are to be found in the Register House, from which it will be seen that he was on this occasion formally recognised as the heir of Hugh of Sleat, brother of John, last Earl of Ross, and as great-grandson of Donald, second Earl of Ross, and Lord of the Isles.

In 1597, an act of Parliament was passed in reference to the Highlands and Isles. The preamble bears that the inhabitants of the Highlands and Isles had not only neglected to pay the yearly rents, and to perform the services due from their lands to the crown, but that they had likewise, through their “barbarous inhumanity,” made the Highlands and Isles, naturally so valuable from the fertility of the soil and the richness of the fisheries, altogether unprofitable either to themselves or to their fellow-countrymen. The natives are further described as neither cultivating any “civil or honest society” among themselves, nor admitting others to traffic with them in safety. It is therefore, by this Act, made imperative upon all landlords, chieftains, leader of clans, principal householders, heritors, and others possessing, or pretending right to, any in the Highlands and Isles, to produce their various title-deeds before the Lords of the Exchequer upon the 15th day of May, 1598. They were further enjoined at the same time to find security for the regular payment of their rents to the crown, and for the peaceable and orderly behaviour of themselves, and of those for whom, by the law, they were bound to answer; particularly in regard to those individuals desirous of trading in the Highlands and Isles. The penal part of the Act was, however, the most im-

* Gregory’s Highlands and Isles, pp. 263-64.

portant. Disobedience to any of the injunctions above detailed, was made, by a harsh exercise of the highest powers of Parliament, to infer absolute forfeiture of all titles, real or pretended, which any of the recusants might possess to lands in the Highlands and Isles.* Taking into consideration both the loss of title-deeds, which, in the unsettled state of the country, must have been a very common occurrence—and the difficulty which many even of the most powerful chiefs could not fail to experience, in finding the requisite bail for their peaceable and orderly behaviour, as well as that of their vassals and tenants—it is evident this act was prepared with a view to place at the disposal of the crown, in a summary manner, many large tracts of land ; affording thus an opportunity to the king to commence his favourite plans for the improvement of the Highlands and Isles. It is not much to the credit of James, that the state papers relating to these projects show clearly that they sprung, not from the higher motives which have made some monarchs the benefactors of mankind, but from the necessity of replenishing an exchequer which had been drained chiefly by his private extravagance and by his excessive liberality to unworthy favourites.

No record has been kept of those who presented themselves in terms of the act on the 15th of May, 1598, but it is known that the islands of Lewis and Harris, and the lands of Dunvegan and Glenelg were declared to be at the disposal of the crown, though it is undoubted that Roderick Macleod of Harris held unexceptionable titles to the first three named. He, however, managed, after many difficulties, to retain his properties ; but it was different with the Macleods of Lewis. Donald Gorm of Sleat had only recently obtained a lease of their lands of Troternish, and this district as well as their whole island principality was now forfeited and granted to a company of Lowland adventurers, the principal of whom were the Duke of Lennox ; Patrick, Commendator of Lindores ; William, Commendator of Pittenweem ; Sir James Anstruther,

* This Act is given in full in the Transactions of the Iona Club, pp. 157-58.

younger of that ilk ; Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, James Leirmonth of Balcolmly, James Spens of Wormestoun, John Forret of Fingask, David Home, younger of Wedderburn ; and Captain William Murray. These, at the same time, received grants of the lands belonging to Macleod of Harris ; but they were never able even to occupy them ; and it is already known to the readers of "The History of the Mackenzies" how the more interested island lords—Macleod of Harris, Donald Gorm of Sleat, and Mackenzie of Kintail—ultimately disposed of the lowland adventurers and the Island of Lewis.

Tytler informs us, after describing the doings at court, that in 1598 "the royal mind, relapsing into sobriety, turned to the Isles and Donald Gorm Macdonald. This potent Highland chieftain had recently made advances to Elizabeth ; and it is not uninteresting to remark the stateliness with which a prince among the Northern *Vikings* approached the English Semiramis. He styles himself Lord of the Isles of Scotland, and chief of the Clan Donnel Irishmen ; and after a proud enumeration of the petty island princes and chiefs who were ready to follow him in all his enterprises, he offered, upon certain 'reasonable motives and considerations,' to embrace the service of the Queen of England, and to persuade the Isles to throw off all allegiance to the Scottish crown. He and his associates were ready, they declared, on a brief warning, to stir up rebellion throughout all the bounds of the mainland, to 'fasche' his Majesty, and weary the whole estates ; to create a necessity for new taxation, and thus disgust all classes of his subjects. To induce Elizabeth to embrace these proposals, Donald informed the queen that he knew the secret history of the Scottish king's intercourse with her arch-rebel Tyrone, and could lay before her the whole intrigues of the Catholic earls lately reconciled to the kirk, but 'meaning nothing less in their hearts than that which they showed outwardly to the world'. He would disclose also, he said, the secret practices in Scotland ; and prove with what activity the Northern Jesuits and seminary priests had been

weaving their meshes, and pushing forward their 'diabolical, pestiferous, and anti-Christian courses ; which he, Donald Gorm Macdonald, protested before God and his angels he detested with his whole soul. All this he was ready to do upon 'good deservings and honest courtesies,' to be offered him by the Queen of England ; to whose presence he promised to repair upon a moment's warning."* The same writer continues, "What answer was given by the English queen to these generous and disinterested proposals does not appear ; although the letter of Donald Gorm, who made it, is marked in many places by Burghley with the trembling hand of sickness and old age. It is probable that under the term 'honest courtesies,' more substantial rewards were found to be meant than Elizabeth was willing to bestow ; and that the perpetual feuds, massacres, and conspiracies which occurred amongst the Highland chiefs and their followers disgusted this princess, and shook her confidence in any treaties or alliances proposed by such savage auxiliaries."†

In 1599, a commission of lieutenandry over the Isles and West Highlands was granted to the Duke of Lennox, who had meanwhile been under a cloud and again restored to favour. The inhabitants are described as being guilty of the grossest impiety and the most atrocious barbarities. In 1601, another commission was granted to Lennox and Huntly, but they appear to have taken no active steps to bring the Islanders under subjection. The attention of the government was, at the same time, occupied—apart from the civilization of the Lewis and Kintyre and the general measures proposed for the improvement of the Isles—by a sudden quarrel, followed by much bloodshed and various desolating inroads which arose between the two great chiefs in the Isle of Skye, Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat and Ruari Macleod of Dunvegan. Donald Gorm had married Macleod's sister ; but owing to some jealousy or other cause

* MS. in the state-paper-office, endorsed by Burghley "Donald Gorm Macdonald, March 1598."

† History of Scotland, vol. iv., p. 267.

of displeasure conceived against her, he repudiated that lady. Macleod being informed of this was highly offended, and sent a message to Donald Gorm desiring him to take back his wife. This the latter refused ; but on the contrary set about procuring a legal divorce, in which he succeeded, and immediately afterwards married a sister of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail. Macleod, in the first transports of his resentment at this indignity, assembled his clan and carried fire and sword through Macdonald's district of Troternish, in Skye. The Clandonald, in revenge, invaded Harris, which island they laid waste in a similar manner, killing many of the inhabitants and carrying off the cattle. This retaliation roused the Macleods to make a foray upon Macdonald's estate of North Uist, and, accordingly they sailed from Skye towards that Island ; and on arriving there, the Chief sent his kinsman, Donald Glas Macleod, with forty men to lay waste the Island, and to bring off from the Church of Kiltrynad the cattle and effects of the country people, which, on the alarm being given, had been placed there for safety. In the execution of these orders Donald Glas was encountered by a celebrated warrior of the Clandonald, nearly related to their chief, called Donald MacIan Mhic Sheumais, who had only twelve men with him. The Macdonalds behaved with so much gallantry on this occasion that they routed their opponents and rescued the cattle, Donald Glas and many of his men being killed. The Chief of Dunvegan, seeing the ill success of this detachment, and suspecting that a larger force was at hand, returned home, meditating future vengeance. These spoliations and incursions were carried on with so much inveteracy that both clans were carried to the brink of ruin ; and many of the natives of the districts thus devastated were forced to sustain themselves by killing and eating their horses, dogs, and cats. At length, in the year 1601, while Ruari Macleod was absent seeking assistance from the Earl of Argyll against his enemies, the Macdonalds invaded Macleod's lands in Skye in considerable numbers, wishing to force on a battle. The Macleods, under Alexander, the brother of

of their chief, took post on the shoulder of the Coolins (a very high and rugged mountain or ridge of hills in Skye), and did not decline the contest. After a fierce and obstinate combat, in which both parties fought with great bravery, the Macleods were overthrown. Their leader, with thirty of their choicest warriors fell into the hands of the victors ; and two of the chief's immediate relations, and many others, were slain. The Privy Council now interfered to prevent further mischief. The Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Argyll, and all others, were prohibited from giving assistance to either of the contending parties ; whilst the chiefs themselves were ordered to disband their forces and to quit the island in the meantime. Macleod was enjoined to give himself up to the Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald to surrender to Huntly, and both were strictly charged, under the penalty of treason, to remain with these noblemen till the controversy between them should be settled by the king and council. A reconciliation was at length effected between them by the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Isla, Maclean of Coll, and other friends ; after which the prisoners taken at "the battle of Benquhillin" were released ; and, ever after, these clans refrained from open hostility, and submitted their disputes to the decision of the law.*

In 1608, Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, and Sir James Hay of Kingask proceeded to the Isles, armed with powers, to confer and come to certain terms with the Island chiefs. At Maclean's castle, Aros, Mull, he met Angus Macdonald of Isla, Maclean of Duart, Lachlan his brother, Donald Gorm Mor of Sleat, Donald MacAllan, captain of Clanranald ; Ruari Macleod of Harris, Alastair his brother, and several others. Here the proud lords agreed to the following humiliating conditions :—"That they should forthwith give security for the regular payment of his majesty's rents ; deliver up their castles and strongholds, to be at the disposal of the king ; that they should renounce all the feudal privileges claimed by them ; submit themselves

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 292-297.

wholly to the jurisdiction of the laws, and be accountable that others dependent on them did the same ; that they should deliver up their birlinns, galleys, and all vessels of war to be destroyed ; that they should send their children to the seats of learning in the lowlands to be educated under the protection of his Majesty's Privy Council as became the children of barons and gentlemen of the land." They however, soon suspected that Ochiltree was not altogether to be depended upon in his "fair words, promising to be their friend, and to deal with the king in their favour". Angus Macdonald of Isla, having agreed to everything, was permitted to go home ; but finding the others not quite ready to do Ochiltree's bidding in the end, he invited them on board the King's ship *Moon*, to hear a sermon preached by his chief counsellor, Bishop Knox of the Isles, after which they were to dine with him. Ruari Macleod, shrewdly suspecting some sinister design, refused to go aboard the ship, and his suspicion proved only too true ; for immediately after dinner Ochiltree informed his guests that they were his prisoners by the king's orders ; and, weighing anchor, he at once set sail for Ayr, and thence proceeded, taking his prisoners with him, to Edinburgh, where they were confined, by order of the Privy Council, in the castles of Dumbarton, Blackness, and Stirling. The imprisonment of the chiefs induced many of their followers to submit to the king's representatives, and the arrangements afterwards made became a starting point for a gradual and permanent improvement in the Highlands and Western Isles.

In 1609, the famous "statutes of Icolmkil" were entered into by the Island chiefs, who had meanwhile been set at liberty—among the rest Donald Gorm Mor—with the Bishop of the Isles. The statutes are thus summarised :—The first proceeded upon the narrative of the gross ignorance and barbarity of the Islanders, alleged to have arisen partly from the small number of their clergy, and partly from the contempt in which that small number of pastors was held. To remedy this state of things, it was agreed that proper obedience should be given to the clergy (whose number,

much diminished by the Reformation, it was proposed to increase); that their stipends should be regularly paid; that ruinous churches should be re-built; that the Sabbaths should be solemnly kept; and that, in all respects they should observe the discipline of the Reformed kirk as established by Act of Parliament. By one of the clauses of this statute, marriages contracted for certain years were declared illegal; a proof that the ancient practice of hand-fasting still prevailed to some extent. The second statute ordained the establishment of inns at the most convenient places in the several Isles; and this not only for the convenience of travellers, but to relieve the tenants and labourers of the ground from the great burden and expense caused to them through the want of houses of public entertainment. The third statute was intended to diminish the number of idle persons, whether masterless vagabonds, or belonging to the households of chiefs and landlords; for experience had shown that the expense of supporting these idlers fell chiefly upon the tenantry, in addition to their usual rents. It was therefore enacted that no man should be allowed to reside within the Isles who had not a sufficient revenue of his own; or who at least did not follow some trade by which he might live. With regard to the great households hitherto kept by the chiefs, a limit was put to the number of individuals of which each household was to consist in future, according to the rank and estate of the master; and it was further provided that each chief should support his household from his own means—not by a tax upon his tenantry. The fourth statute provided that all persons not natives of the Isles, who should be found sorning, or living at free quarters upon the poor inhabitants (an evil which seems to have reached a great height), should be tried and punished by the judge ordinary as thieves and oppressors. The fifth statute proceeded upon the narrative, that one of the chief causes of the great poverty of the Isles, and of the cruelty and inhuman barbarity practised in their feuds, was their inordinate love of strong wines and aquavitæ, which they purchased, partly from dealers among them-

selves, partly from merchants belonging to the mainland. Power was, therefore, given to any person whatever to seize, without payment, any wine or aquavite imported for sale by a native merchant ; and if any Islander should buy any of the prohibited articles from a mainland trader, he was to incur the penalty of forty pounds for the first offence, one hundred for the second, and for the third, the loss of his whole possessions and moveable goods. It was, however, declared to be lawful for an individual to brew as much aquavitæ as his own family might require ; and the barons and wealthy gentlemen were permitted to purchase in the lowlands the wine and other liquors required for their private consumption. The sixth statute attributed the "ignorance and incivillitee" of the Islanders to the neglect of good education among the youth ; and, to remedy this fault, enacted that every gentleman or yeoman possessed of sixty cattle, should send his eldest son, or, if he had no male children, his eldest daughter, to school in the lowlands, and maintain his child there till it learned to speak, read, and write English. The seventh statute forbade the use of any description of fire-arms, even for the destruction of game, under the penalties contained in an Act of Parliament passed in the (then) present reign, which had never yet received obedience from the Islanders "owing to their monstrous deadly feuds". The eighth statute was directed against the bards and other idlers of that class. The gentry were forbidden to encourage them ; and the bards themselves were threatened, first with the stocks and then with banishment. The ninth statute contained some necessary enactments for enforcing obedience to the preceding acts. Such were the statutes of Icolmkill ; for the better observance of which, and of the laws of the realm and Acts of Parliament in general, the bishop took from the assembled chiefs a very strict bond. This bond, moreover, contained a sort of confession of faith on the part of the subscribers, and an unconditional acknowledgment of his majesty's supreme authority in all matters both spiritual

and temporal, according to his "most loveable act of supremacy".*

Shortly after this a proclamation was issued by which the inhabitants of the mainland of Argyll were prohibited from buying cattle, horses, or other goods within any of the Western Isles, but the Island chiefs having complained of this as an oppressive act which made it impossible for them to pay his majesty's claims, and injured his revenue from the Isles, the harsh order was immediately annulled.

In 1610, six of the Island lords, including Donald Gorm of Sleat, attended in Edinburgh to hear his majesty's pleasure declared respecting the arrangements already set forth as having been agreed to between them and the Bishop of the Isles. They further agreed to concur with and assist the king's lieutenants, justices, and commissioners in all questions connected with the government of the Isles; to live at peace among themselves, and to submit all questions of difference and dispute to the ordinary courts of law; and the result was that in the following year, the Isles were almost entirely free from all disorder and rebellion.

By a letter, dated 5th of November, 1611, King James granted to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles "all and quhatsum-ever soumes of money sall he found rest auntentand to his Majestie by Donald Gorme of Slaitte" and several other Highland Chiefs, "for yair pairties quhatsumever taxationes grantit to his Majestie, within his said kingdom, at any time preceeding the first day of July 1606".

In 1613, we find the chief of Sleat on record as having settled with the exchequer, and "continuing in his obedience to the laws". In the following year he is the only one of the great chiefs of the Isles who supports the bishop, as his majesty's lieutenant, in putting down the rebellion of the Macdonalds of Isla. Few of the clan, however, could be induced to follow him. In 1615, he is found plotting with Sir James Macdonald of Isla, who, with the chiefs of Kerpoch, Morar, and Knoydart, visited him at Sleat, where

* Highlands and Isles.

they held a lengthened conference. Donald Gorm did not, however, join them openly, but many of his followers had done so with his full cognisance and consent. Later on, in the same year, he received instructions from the Privy Council to defend his own estates against the pirate, Coll MacGillespic, for which purpose he was permitted to employ two hundred men. It was confidently stated, at this period that neither Donald Gorm nor any of the other leading Islanders could be depended upon to proceed against their clansmen of Isla and the South Isles, had they been requested to do so. Indeed several of their leading vassals were in the ranks of the rebellious chief of Isla. This insurrection was, however, after considerable difficulty crushed, and in 1616 the leading Island chiefs had again to appear in Edinburgh and bind themselves mutually, as securities for each other, to the observance of very severe and humiliating conditions ; one of these being that they would appear before the Privy Council on the 10th of July in each year and oftener if required, and another, that they should annually exhibit a certain number of their kinsmen out of a larger list named by the Council. Their households were to be reduced to a small number of gentlemen followers. They were not allowed to carry pistols or hackbuts except on the king's service, and none but the chiefs and the gentlemen of their households were to wear swords or armour, or any weapons whatever. They were bound to reside at certain stated places, and had to build, without delay, "civil and comlie" houses, or repair their decayed residences, and to have "policie and planting" about them ; and to take *mains* or home farms into their own hands, which they were to cultivate "to the effect that they might be thereby exercised and eschew idleness". The rest of their lands they must let to tenants at fixed rents. No single chief was to have more than one birlinn or galley of sixteen or eighteen oars, and, after providing for the education of their children in the Lowlands,* the quantity of

* This provision regarding education was confirmed by an Act of Privy Council, which bore, that "the chief and principall caus quilk hes procurit and procuris the

wine to be used in their houses was declared and very much restricted from what they had been in the habit of using, and none of their tenants were to be permitted by them to buy or drink any wine whatever. Immediately after and in support of these conditions the Privy Council passed a very strict general Act against excessive drinking, because, it was declared in the preamble, "the great and extraordinary excesse in drinking of wyne, commonlie usit among the commonis and tenantis of the Yllis, is not only ane occasioun of the beastlie and barbarous cruelties and inhumanities that fallis oute amongis thame, to the offens and displeasour of God, and contempt of law and justice ; but with that it drawis numberis of thame to miserable necessitie and povartie, sua that they are constraynit quhen thay want from their awne, to tak from thair nichtbours".

Donald Gorm was very unwell and unable to accompany the other Island chiefs to Edinburgh ; but he ratified all their proceedings, agreed to the conditions, and furnished the necessary securities by a bond, dated in August, 1616.

continuance of barbaritie, impietie, and incivilitie within the Yllis of this kingdome, hes proceedit from the small cair that the chiftanes and principall clannitmen of the Yllis hes haid of the educatioun and upbringing of thair childrene in vertew and lerning ; who, being cairles of thair duties in that poynte, and keiping thair childrene still at home with thame, whair they see nothing in thair tendir yeiris but the barbarous and incivile formes of the countrie, thay ar thairby maid to apprehend that thair is no uther formes of dewtie and civilitie kept in any uther pairt of the cuntrie ; sua that, when thay come to the yeiris of maturitie, hardlie can thay be reclaimed from these barbarous, rude, and incivile formes, quhilk, for lack of instructioun, war bred and satled in thame, in their youthe ; whairas, if they had bene sent to the inland (the low country) in thair youthe, and trainit up in vertew, lerning, and the Inglische tongue, thay wald haif bene the bettir preparit to reforme thair countreyis, and to reduce the same to godliness, obedience, and civilitie." Another account, written about the same time, assigns a very different character to the people. The writer praises the inhabitants of Skye for their hospitality to strangers, their veneration for their chiefs and king, their activity in field sports, and for their taste for poetry, music, and traditional lore, while the females are described as "verie modest, temperet in their dyet and apparell, excessively grieved at the death of any near relation"; and all honour "ther ministers in a high degree, to whose care, under God, they owe ther freedom from idolatrie, and many superstitiouse customes". The Island itself is blest with a good and temperate air, which, though sometimes foggy and often surrounded with mist, so that they can scarce be discerned, yet the summer, by reason of the continual and gentle winds, so abating the heat and the thickness of the air—yet frequent showers in the winter, so "asswageing the cold, that neither the one nor the other proves obnoxious to the inhabitants, the summer not scorching nor the winter benumbing them".

He named the Castle of Duntulm as his residence, and was allowed six household gentlemen, with an annual consumption of four tuns of wine ; while he had to exhibit three of his principal kinsmen annually to the Privy Council. The haughty Lords having petitioned the king, were afterwards, with some of their nearest relations, licensed to use fire-arms, for their own sport, within a mile of their residences.

The families of Sleat and Kintail were on sufficiently friendly terms for several years during the latter part of Donald Gorm's life. This was mainly due to a happy marriage alliance. The following incident will show the relationship which existed between the two families and their retainers, and, at the same time, some of the peculiar customs of the period, and the social state of the country. We have already made the acquaintance of Duncan Macrae who killed Donald Gorm of Sleat, at Islandonain, in 1539. He had a son, Christopher, of whom we are told that "he was prudent and solid in counsel and advice, bold, forward, and daring, when need required, yet remarkably merciful during the bloody wars twixt MacKenzie and Glengarry". Our authority proceeds—"The greatest fault his friends found with Christopher was his being too great a comrade and companion ; for, when he went to Chanery or Inverness, the first thing he did, was to call his landlord, the vintner, and with him, pitch upon and agree for the hogshead of wine that pleased him best, resolving to drink it all, with his acquaintances, before he left the town. It was said of him, if he was as frugal in keeping as he was industrious in acquiring, he had proved a very rich man in his own country ; for he was the first man there who drove cows to the south country mercates, and to that end bought cows yearly, from MacKenzie's, MacDonald's, and Maclean's estates. He was a great favourite of MacDonald and did him a piece of service he could not forget which was thus :—Donald Gorm Mor, who was married to MacKenzie's daughter, having, with his lady, gone south, and staying longer than he had expected, was necessitated to borrow money, which he promised to

pay on a certain day, and being obliged to go home in order to get the money, left his lady at Perth, till his return. Meantime, Christopher having sold his drove, and hearing that his master's daughter, Lady MacDonald, was at Saint Johnstown, *i.e.*, Perth., he went to visit her, and being informed of the cause of her stay, and that of MacDonald's going home, told her he had money to answer all her demands, and even sufficient to carry her home ; advised her clear all and set out immediately, not doubting but she might overtake MacDonald at home, and prevent his having the trouble and risque of going south. And so it happened, for she gladly accepting the compliment, they, early next day, went homeward, and having arrived the second day after MacDonald, he was greatly surprised till his lady informed him what Christopher had done. MacDonald and his lady insisted for his staying some days, and entertained him very kindly ; and on the day they were to part, Christopher, being still warm with drink, called for a large cup-full of strong waters, proposing as a compliment, to drink it all to MacDonald's good health. MacDonald supposing himself bound to return the compliment, by drinking as much as Christopher, said, ' I hope you don't mean to kill me by taking such a quantity of this liquor ? ' to which Christopher answered, ' Sir, and is it not natural, since my father killed your father ? ' And while MacDonald only smiled and said it was true, some of the bystanders, his attendants, drew their dirks, threatening to be at Christopher, and would undoubtedly have killed him, had not Sir Donald interposed, and conveyed him safe to his boat. Christopher was afterwards ashamed of what he had said, but MacDonald and he continued very fast friends."*

Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald married, first, Margaret, daughter of Tormod Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, and XIIIth Baron of that Ilk, whom he afterwards divorced as already described.

He married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Colin Cam

* Genealogy of the MacRas, written by the Rev. John MacRa, minister of Dingwall, who died in 1704.

Mackenzie, XIth Baron, and sister of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail; but dying without issue, in December, 1616, he was succeeded by his nephew, (son of his brother Archibald, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Isla and the Glynns, ancestor of the Earls of Antrim),

XVII. SIR DONALD MACDONALD,

Eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat, who, on the 6th of May, 1617, was served heir to his uncle, Donald Gorm, in the lands of Sleat, North Uist, Skerdhoug, Benbecula, Gergriminish, Skolpick, Griminish, Tallow Martin, Orronsay Mainlies, and the Island of Giligary, all in the Lordship of the Isles. In July of the same year he, with Sir Donald Mac Allan Mhic Ian, Captain of Clanranald, and other chiefs, appeared before the Privy Council, and he continued to do so regularly, in terms of his engagement, for some time after. An action at law which was begun during the life of his father against Sir Roderick Mor Macleod of Dunvegan about some lands in Skye, was continued by Sir Donald Gorm Og. In 1618, an agreement by arbitration was arrived at, in Edinburgh, by which Sir Roderick Macleod was to receive a certain sum of money for his claims upon the lands in question, and that in order to pay himself he was to have possession of them for several years, when, at the time specified in the decree, they should return to Sir Donald and his heirs. In 1622, Donald Macdonald of Sleat, Sir Roderick Macleod of Harris, John Macdonald, Captain of Clanranald, son of Sir Donald MacAllan, among others, appeared before the Privy Council, on which occasion several acts of importance to the Isles were enacted. They became bound "to builde and repaire their Paroche Kirkis at the Sicht of the Bishope of the Ilis".* Masters of ships were prohibited from importing more wine to the Isles than the quantity allowed to the chiefs and their leading vassals

* This document, bearing date 23rd July, 1622, is given in full at p. 122, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

by the Act of 1617, already quoted. The reason given in the preamble for this protective measure is, that one of the causes which retarded the civilisation of the Isles was the great quantity of wine imported yearly, "with the insatiable desyre quhairof the said Islanders are so far possest, that, when thair arryvis any schip or other veschell there with wines, they spend both dayes and nights in their excesse of drinking sa lang as thair is anie of the wyne left ; sua that, being overcome with drink, their fallis oute many inconvenientis amangis thame, to the breck of his Majesty's peace". By the same act Donald Gorm, Clanranald, and Mackinnon, were prohibited, under heavy penalties, from interfering, or in any way molesting those engaged in the fishings throughout the Isles.

Donald Gorm Og was a steady loyalist, and, according to Douglas's Baronage, "a man of singular integrity and merit, a firm and steady friend of that unfortunate prince," King Charles the First, by whom he was highly favoured and esteemed.

In 1625, he was created a Baronet of Novia Scotia, by patent, dated 14th July, which contained a clause "that he and his heirs male and assigns should have precedency before Sir William Douglas of Glenbervy, Sir Alexander Strachan of Thorntown, and Sir David Livingstone of Dunipace, by which he became the next baronet to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, and the second of that order in the Kingdom of Scotland". When, in 1639, the civil war broke out in Scotland, Charles was so anxious to secure the assistance and influence of the chief of Sleat, that he wrote him a letter from his camp at Berwick, dated the 11th of June in that year, in which he promised him "the lands of Punard, Ardnamurchan, and Strathardill, the Islands of Roume, Muck, and Cannay, which were to accrue to him by the forfeiture of the Earl of Argyle, Sir Dugald Campbell, and Mackinnon, seeing that Sir Donald at this time stood out for the good of his Majesty's service, and was resolved to undergo the hazard of his person and his estate for the same ; all of which he promises on the word

of a king, to ratify to Sir Donald and his heirs, in any manner they shall think proper, provided that he use his best endeavours in his service at this time, according to his Majesty's commission."* He was able to communicate many of the designs and plans of the Covenanters in the North, which proved of great service to the king, and he negotiated with the Marquis of Antrim, chief of the Macdonells of Ireland, for a body of troops, who were to cross into Scotland and serve on the king's side, against the Covenanters, but he died before they arrived, and ere an opportunity presented itself to him to give his active services in the field.

He married Janet, daughter of Kenneth, first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, sister of Colin Ruadh and of George, first and second Earls of Seaforth, and by her had issue—

1. Sir James, who succeeded.

2. Donald of Castleton, who distinguished himself afterwards in the civil wars [See Macdonalds of Castleton].

3. Archibald. 4. Angus. 5. Alexander.

6. Margaret, who married Æneas Macdonell, ninth of Glengarry, raised to the Peerage by the title of Lord Macdonell and Aros in 1660, without issue.

7. Katherine, who married Kenneth Mackenzie, VI of Gairloch, without issue. The contract is dated 5th September, 1635, in which the marriage portion is declared to be 6000 merks, with an endowment of 1000 libs. scots yearly.†

8. Janet, who married Donald Macdonald of Moydart, Captain of Clanranald, with issue, and

9. Mary, who, as his first wife, married Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, without issue.

Sir Donald died in October, 1643, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XVIII. SIR JAMES MACDONALD,

Ninth baron and second baronet of Sleat, served heir to his father on the 20th February, 1644. He joined Montrose

* Wood's Douglas' Peerage of Scotland.

† History and Genealogies of the Clan Mackenzie, by the same author, p. 332.

in 1645, and several of his followers fought with him at the battle of Inverlochy. He also sent a considerable body, to the assistance of Charles II., when he marched into England in 1651, many of whom fought with him in the battle of Worcester. In 1646, he and the Earl of Seaforth were with Montrose when he retired with his supporters westward through the valley of Strathglass, and where, on receipt of a communication from the king, he disbanded his followers; quitted the country shortly after; and left Sir James and Seaforth to make the best of their way to their respective homes.

In the beginning of the same year, 1646, Montrose came north to recruit his army. Seaforth raised his men and advertised "his foresaid neighbours to come, but none came except Sir James Macdonald, who, with Seaforth, joined Montrose at Inverness, which they besieged, but Middleton, who then served in the Scots armies in England, being sent with nearly 1000 horse and 600 foot, coming suddenly the length of Inverness, stopped Montrose's progress. Montrose was forced to raise the siege and quit the campaign, and retired with Seaforth and Sir James Macdonald to the hills of Strathglass, to await the arrival of the rest of their confederates, Lord Reay, Glengarry, Maclean and several others, who, with such as were ready to join him south were likely to make a formidable array for the king; but in the meantime, the king having come to the Scots army, the first thing they extorted from him was to send a herald to Montrose, commanding him to disband his forces, and pass over to France till his Majesty's further pleasure."*

When Charles II. marched into England in 1651, Sir James sent several of his vassals to his assistance. The king and his followers being defeated at the battle of Worcester, the royal cause was for the time ruined, and Sir James retired to his residence in the Isle of Skye, where "he lived with great circumspection." He was a man of great intelligence and ability, highly esteemed and trusted

* Ardintoul MS., quoted at pp. 197-190, Mackenzie's History of the Mackenzies.

by his dependants, and, according to Douglas, "of fine accomplishments, untainted virtue and honour". The share he took in bringing the Keppoch murderers to justice is fully set forth in the *Celtic Magazine* by a writer well acquainted with the facts. Writing of Ian Lom Macdonald, the Keppoch bard, the writer says:—"From this retreat (Kintail) he poured forth a torrent of mingled invective and appeals, such as very soon created a powerful public opinion in favour of the cause he espoused. Taking prompt advantage of this, he visited Invergarry Castle, the seat of the Macdonell chieftain, raised to the peerage by Charles II., by the title of Lord Macdonell and Aros. His representations failed, however, in prevailing upon this chief to take the initiative in his favour; but he advised him to appeal to Sir James Macdonald of Sleat, as Captain of Clandonald. To make his way to the good graces of Sir James, he composed the song beginning—

A bhean leasaich an stop dhuinn, 's lion an cupa le solas,

Ma 's a branndai na beoir i,

'N deoch 's air Captain Chloinn Domhnuil, 's air Sir Alastair Og thig 'o 'n chaol.

This appeal was followed by a personal visit from our bard; which, backed as he was by the influence of Lord Macdonell, had the desired result. Sir James lost no time in representing the case to government, who authorised him to bring the perpetrators of the murder to immediate justice. The carrying out of the enterprise, which needed both secrecy and skill, was entrusted by Sir James to his son, Archibald—An Ciaran Mabach—a soldier and a poet; and in whose abilities and courage his father reposed great confidence. In concert with the poet, they laid their plans so well that the assassins were surprised in their beds, and had summary justice inflicted upon them—seven in all. By dawn next day their heads were laid at the feet of Lord Macdonell at Invergarry Castle. On their way to Invergarry, the heads were washed at a fountain, a few miles west from the castle, which to this day, in remembrance of the event, bears the name of 'Tobair-nan-ceann'—the Fountain of the heads;

and over which a chieftain representative of Lord Macdonell erected a monument, with a Gaelic inscription by the late eminent poet and scholar, Mr. Ewen Maclauchlan of Aberdeen, in Ossianic verse.”* Douglas gives the following account—“In his time there was a parcel of barbarous Highlanders who greatly infested the northern parts, committed vast outrages, robberies, and even murders. They attacked Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, with a considerable force in his own house, and most cruelly put him to death, anno 1663. The government used all manner of means to bring them to justice, but that was found impracticable in a legal way; they therefore sent a most ample commission of fire and sword (as it was then called) to Sir James Macdonald, &c., signed by the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Eglinton, and other six of the privy council, with orders and full power to him to pursue, apprehend, and bring in, dead or alive, all these lawless robbers, &c. This, in a very short time, he effectually performed; some of them he put to death, and entirely dispersed the rest, to the satisfaction of the whole court, which contributed greatly to the civilising of those parts. Immediately thereafter, by order of the Ministry, he got a letter of thanks from the Earl of Rothes, then lord high treasurer and keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, full of acknowledgments of the singular service he had done the country, and assuring him that it should not pass unrewarded, with many other clauses very much to Sir James’s honour, &c. This letter is dated the 15th day of December, 1665, signed ROTHES.”

At the Restoration he was fined to a large amount at the instigation of Middleton, who is said to have received a grant of the fine for himself. From this it would appear that the loyalty of Sir James to the king during the Commonwealth did not continue so steadfast as that of others of the Highland chiefs, and to the extent which would be naturally expected from the representative of the Mac-

* The Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A., in the *Celtic Magazine*, Vol. V., pp. 100-101. Article on Ian Lom Macdonald, the Lochaber Gaelic Bard.

donalds of the Isles, who had invariably in the past supported the Stewarts.

Sir James was quite a cavalier of the period. When at home, his mansion was enlivened by the presence of a gay and noble company, bent on mirth and music. Ian Lom, in a song, gives an animated and brilliant description of his ancestral hall, lighted up at night with candles of the purest wax, while young ladies of dazzling beauty entertained the company with melody and song. The native beverage and Spanish wines flowed free as a mountain tarn. But it was in the field of battle that, according to the bard, Sir James specially distinguished himself.

Nuair a rachadh tu'n strith,
Ann an armailt an Rìgh,
Bhitheadh do dhiollaid air mil' each gorm.

Sir James married Margaret, only daughter of Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach, the famous Tutor of Kintail, and ancestor of the Earls of Cromarty. By this lady Sir James had issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.
 2. Roderick, who married Janet Ritchie, with issue, two sons, James and Donald, twins, born on the 10th of June, 1679.
 3. Hugh, afterwards of Glenmore.
 4. Somerled of Sortle.
 5. Catherine, who married Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, with issue.
 6. Florence, who married John Macleod, XVII. of Harris and Dunvegan, with issue, three sons and three daughters.
- He married, secondly, Mary, eldest daughter of John Macleod, XV. of Harris and Dunvegan, with issue—
7. John of Backney.

He had also a natural son, Archibald, "An Ciaran Mabach," a distinguished warrior and Gaelic bard. John Mackenzie in his "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," p. 53, says of him that "In no one could his father more properly have confided matters of importance, requiring sagacity, zeal, and bravery, than in this son. Accordingly he made use of his

services when necessary; and put the greatest dependence in his fidelity, prudence, and activity. *Ciaran Mabach* was no doubt amply requitted by his father, who allotted him a portion of land in North Uist. Grants of land were in those times commonly given to gentleman of liberal education but of slender fortune; where amid their rural occupations they enjoyed pleasures unknown to those who in similar stations of life were less happily located. It does not appear that our poet was a voluminous writer; and of his compositions there are very few extant. It is to be regretted that so few of his poems have been preserved, as his taste, education, and natural powers, entitle him to a high place among the bards of his country. Gentlemen of a poetical genius could have resided in no country more favourable to poetry than in the Highlands of Scotland, where they led the easy life of the sportsman or the grazier, and had leisure to cultivate their taste for poetry or romance."

Sir James died on the 8th of December, 1678, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIX. SIR DONALD MACDONALD,

Tenth baron and third baronet of Sleat. He joined Viscount Dundee, but was taken seriously ill in Lochaber and was obliged to return home. His eldest son, however, who accompanied him, took his place, and fought bravely at the head of his clan, forming part of the left wing at the battle of Killiecrankie, on the 27th of July, 1689. In addition to many more of his followers, five of his cousins-german, one of whom was Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh,* fell on that sanguinary field, but he escaped and returned, with the remnant of his followers, to the Isles.

* Martin says that James Macdonald of Capstil was another, and that on the night of the battle of Killiecrankie, where he was slain, his cows in Skye, gave blood instead of milk, a fact which his family and friends considered a very bad omen.

He appears to have joined Dundee early ; for in a letter addressed to "the Laird of Macleod," dated 23rd of June, 1689, from his headquarters at Moy, in Lochaber, Dundee mentions Sir Donald among other leading Highland chiefs whom he immediately expects to join him.

Having joined Macdonald of Keppoch at Inverness, who had laid siege to the town, Dundee retired to Lochaber, and "from thence marched with one thousand five hundred foot and two hundred horse to Badenoch, against General Mackay and the laird of Grant, who had about six thousand men, and chased them day and night till they passed Strathbogie, where he encamped three days at Edinglassy. On the fourth day he received intelligence that Sir John Lancer's regiment of horse and other dragoons, Ramsay's regiment, and other two regiments of foot, had joined General Mackay, which obliged him to return to Keppoch, where he remained six weeks, till he was joined by the Honourable Sir Donald of the Isles, with five hundred men, who, by reason of indisposition, was obliged to return home, but left his young son, Sir Donald with my Lord Dundee. Then his Lordship appointed all the clans, with their friends and followers, to meet him at the Blair of Athole the next Tuesday, and that himself, the Honourable Sir Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry, Sir John Maclean, young Sir Donald of the Isles, the Captain of Clanranald, and Sir Hugh Cameron of Lochiel, would go and raise the Badenoch and Athole men against that day." The same writer, after describing the engagement, goes on to say—"In the battle the Highlanders, besides their unparalleled general, Dundee, lost the brave Pitcur, who, like a moving castle in the shape of a man, threw fire and sword on all sides against his enemy ; Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, Macdonald of Largie, his tutor and all his family ; Glengarry's brother, and many of his relations, and five cousins-german of Sir Donald of the Isles, with many private Highlanders." During the following winter Major-General Buchan, Lord Seaforth, Colonel Brown, and other officers, "came from King James in Ireland to Sir Donald of the Isles ; and

Buchan, by his commission, being eldest Major-General, commanded the army, and desired each clan to give him one hundred men, promising with them to raise the low countries. The clans gave him one thousand five hundred men, with whom he marched from Keppoch to Kilwhuimin (Fort-Augustus), at the end of Loch Ness." Some time after Major-Generals Buchan and Cannin marched north, first to Lochaber and then to Badenoch, where, in a few days, they dispersed their forces. Afterwards "Major-General Buchan and his officers went to the Honourable Sir Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry; and General Cannin and his officers went to the Honourable Sir Donald Macdonald of the Isles, where they stayed about nine months, till the Earl of Breadalbane came with a commission from King William to treat with the clans, by offering them £20,000 to own his government and live peaceably. But his majesty knew not that the loyalty and honour of the Scots Highlanders was not to be overcome by force, or debauched by treasure. For they generously scorned the offer as base, and unworthy of noble thoughts; and only desired the liberty to send two of their officers to France to acquaint King James with the state of their affairs, and when they had received his orders they would act accordingly. This favour, with some difficulty, was granted them." These officers on their arrival in France informed King James of "the dreadful miseries and extremities his clans suffered and were reduced to, and humbly desired to know his will and pleasure". He received their message "with grief and concern," and thanked the Highlanders for their loyalty and support. He desired the commissioners on their return, to inform the chiefs "that if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would not be unmindful of their loyalty, who in past ages had always been faithful to his ancestors; and that if it pleased God to call for him, he had a son, the young Prince, who, he doubted not, by God's grace, if he lived, would be in a condition fully to reward their fidelity." The king then gave the Highland chiefs full authority to make the best terms they could with the existing government, and

to live peaceably and quietly, but he desired the principal officers to join him at St. Germain.*

Terms were agreed to soon after at Achallader, in Argyll-shire, and such fair promises were given as induced many of the Highlanders to place faith in King William and his government. The manner in which these promises were implemented and the inhuman proceedings soon after at the massacre of Glencoe are too well known to require detailed notice here. Sir Donald's residence was set on fire by a party of William's troops who landed from a man-of-war ship, but they were forced immediately to embark. About twenty of them, buried at Dun-Flo, were killed. He seems to have secured favourable terms, and he does not appear to have taken any active part in public affairs during the remainder of his life.

He married on the 24th of July, 1662, at Perth, Lady Mary Douglas, second daughter of Robert, third Earl of Morton, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir and successor.

2. James of Oronsay, who succeeded his nephew, Sir Donald (who died unmarried in 1720), as Sir James Macdonald, thirteenth of Sleat.

3. William, known as Tutor of Macdonald, from whom the late Macdonalds of Vallay. He married Catharine, daughter of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, by his second wife, a daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart. By this lady the Tutor "had a numerous issue". (See Macdonalds of Vallay.)

4. Elizabeth, who married Sir Alexander Bannerman of Elsick, Baronet, with issue.

5. Barbara, who married Coll Macdonald of Keppoch.

6. Mary, who died unmarried.

He died on the 5th of February, 1695, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

* Pamphlet "by an Officer of the Army, printed by Jonas Brown, at the Black Swan, London, 1714".

XX. SIR DONALD MACDONALD,

Eleventh baron and fourth baronet of Sleat, known among his own countrymen (from the part he took, under Dundee at Killiecrankie, and afterwards under the Earl of Mar, in 1715, during his father's life) as "Domhnall a Chogaidh," or Donald of the Wars. He attended the great gathering of the chiefs at Braemar, and was soon after entrapped by the government, with a few others of the leading Jacobites, including Seaforth who was confined to his own Castle of Brahan, while the chief of Sleat was sent to the Castle of Edinburgh. Patten informs us that upon the news of the Earl of Mar's being in arms, and of the progress he was making, reaching the government, "orders were despatched immediately to Edinburgh to secure such suspected persons as were thought to be capable of mischief," and among the list of such, given by him, we find Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir John Maclean, the Laird of Mackinnon, Rob Roy, *alias* Macgregor, John Cameron of Lochiel, the Laird of Clanranald, the Laird of Glengarry, the Laird of Keppoch, Mackintosh, younger of Borlum, and fifty-four others, including Mar himself. It was, probably, on this occasion that Sir Donald was captured and imprisoned in Edinburgh. We, however, soon after meet him again in the North at the head of a body of his followers, variously stated at from six to eight hundred. The Earl of Seaforth collected his vassals, and having been joined by Sir Donald and his followers from the Isles, and a few from other Jacobite chiefs in the Northern Counties, Seaforth found himself at the head of a force of 3000 men. With these he attacked a large government force at Alness, which he soon dispersed, the Earl of Sutherland, who was at their head, retreating with his followers to Bonar Bridge, where they were at once broken up. The Mackenzies and the Macdonalds levied heavy fines on the territories of the Munros, who supported the government, which were fully revenged in their absence with the Jacobite army in the

South, for which they at once set out, accompanied by Sir Donald and his Island warriors.

Lord Lovat, in his "Account of the Taking of Inverness," supplies the following version:—"The Earl of Seaforth, who was nominated Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Counties to his Majesty King James the VIII. (for so was the designation then), was not idle ; gathered his men from the Lewes, and all his inland country, to the place of Brahan, where Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, with six hundred men, and the Laird of Mackinnon, with one hundred and fifty, joined him ; Alexander Mackenzie of Frazerdale, who assumed command of the name of Frazer, and his lady, had forced four hundred of that name, which, with the hundred men that Chisholm (who is vassal to that family) had, made up five hundred under Frazerdale's command, which lay at and about Castledouny, five miles from Brahan and six from Inverness." He further adds that "being come to Inverness, General Seaforth called a Council of War, where were present the Lord Duffus, Sir Donald Macdonald, Frazerdale, Mackinnon, the Chisholm, and several other officers, besides Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, the governor, where it was resolved that Culloden House must be reduced at any rate ; and so commanded Mr. George Mackenzie of Gruinziord to go with a trumpet along with him, and summon the house formally to surrender ; coming to the place, Gruinziord ordered the trumpet to sound, and called to Mr. Duncan who kept the house ; Mr. Forbes not only told him, but showed him that the house was not in their reverence ; and so defiance was returned for answer. But in a second Council of War, the Lord Duffus was sent in order to reduce Mr. Forbes by reason ; or otherwise to assure him of the hardest treatment if the house was taken. But my lord returned without success ; and so a disposition was made for the siege, and the party for the attack ordered, but finding that the house was strong, and the governor and garrison obstinate and brave, after twelve days' deliberations, marched forward toward

their grand camp at Perth. From Inverness they marched to Strath-Spey, the Laird of Grant's country, where they found the Grants all in arms, in order to secure their country from harm ; they only asked some baggage horses to the next country, and quartered their men civilly, and returned the horses home next day, and so they joined the Earl of Mar at Perth, where they continued till the decisive stroke of Dumblain, from whence they returned in a hundred parties, to the satisfaction of many who were very careful of disarming them in their retreat. But the four hundred Frazers that Mr. Mackenzie had brought there four days before to Dumblain, hearing that the Lord Lovat was come home, deserted that cause, and came home full armed, with their affection to their natural chief, and their love to the Protestant interest ; for which, that name distinguished themselves since the Reformation, as was plainly seen in their services thereafter till the Rebellion was extinguished."

Immediately on the arrival at Perth of this large reinforcement, Mar determined to cross the Forth and meet Argyll, who commanded the government forces. Patten says, that "The Earl of Mar being joined by the Earl of Seaforth, Sir Donald Macdonald, and others, with their respective clans, to the number of 8000 men, were preparing to march from Perth, to join General Gordon with the Western clans at Auchterarder, in order to attempt the crossing of the Forth, which was indeed his main design. This was the 12th of November. Upon intelligence of this march, for the rebels advanced from Perth with their whole army, the Duke of Argyll sent for a train of field artillery from Edinburgh ; and having received all the reinforcement he expected from Ireland, his grace resolved not to suffer them to reach the Bank of Forth, but to fight them wherever he could come up with them. Accordingly, he passed the Forth at Stirling Bridge with his whole army, and advanced towards Dumblain. This occasioned a general engagement, fought near Dumblain, at a place called Sheriff-moor, on Sunday, November 13."*

* History of the late Rebellion, second part, page 35.

The details of this memorable engagement are already sufficiently well known. In the hottest part of the contest the Macdonalds exhibited the ancient valour of the race. The historian of the rebellion, already named, and who was with the Jacobite army, though he afterwards turn-coated, and wrote severely against them,* informs us that, immediately the enemy was seen, "the Earl of Mar ordered the Earl Marshall, Major-General of the horse, with his own squadron and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, to march up to the height and dislodge them," whereupon "the enemy disappeared," and later in the engagement, "all the line to the right being of the clans, led on by Sir Donald Macdonald's two brothers (James and William), Glengarry, Captain of Clanranald, Sir John Maclean, Glenco, Campbell of Glenlyon (and others), made a most furious attack, so that in seven or eight minutes we could neither perceive the form of a squadron or battalion of the enemy before us. We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner, for about half a mile, killing and taking prisoners all that we could overtake."

The same authority in a list of the most considerable chiefs in Scotland, and the number of men they could raise, with an account of their disposition for or against

* Of this minister of the Gospel, Dr. John Hill Burton writes:—He holds a distinguished place in the annals of infamy. He betrayed his cause, and gave testimony against those whose deeds he had beheld when acting as their spiritual guide and exhorter to loyalty. He boasted of this, his treachery, as a "duty," wherein he made all the "reparation" he could "for the injury" he "had done the Government". He afterwards wrote a history of the follies and misfortunes of those whom he had helped to seduce, by his religious persuasions, to their fatal career—dedicated to the victorious general who had trampled them down. This servant of God, whose character has fortunately been but seldom exemplified in a profession the characteristic defects of which are not so much founded on calculating selfishness as on indiscriminating and self-sacrificing zeal—preached to the assembled army from Deut. xxi. 17. "The right of the first born is his;" and he recorded the observation that "it was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, and answered the responses according to the rubric, to the shame of many who pretended to more polite breeding." It is unfortunately necessary to rely for many of the events connected with the expedition on the narrative of this perfidious man. It is some sanction for his accuracy, that the events narrated by him were seen by many others, and his testimony must, like that of other approvers, be taken with suspicion, and guardedly relied on.

the government, places Sir Donald Macdonald at the head of the clans with a thousand men, all with their chief, against the government and in the rebellion. To the captain of Clanranald he gives a thousand on the same side, while to the Laird of Glengarry, whom he describes as "inferior to none in bravery," he allots five hundred, Keppoch had three hundred men against the government. and Patten is very severe upon them for their conduct at Killiecrankie, Cromdale and Sheriffmuir, at which latter place "he still showed his face, but never drew his sword, for his people are expert at nothing more than stealing and public robberies ; for at Perth they made a good hand in this way of business among the country people and others of their own party".

Burton, who never has a good word for the Highlanders if he can avoid it, is forced to say that "the impetuous rush of the Highlanders (on the right) carried Witham, with his horse and foot, before them down the steep declivity towards Dunblane, with much slaughter". The Master of Sinclair, who had fought under the Duke of Marlborough, and a distinguished officer who fought at Sheriffmuir in the victorious wing of the Highland army among the Macdonalds, but who, generally, wrote very severely of Mar's army, describes the conduct of the Highlanders as follows :—"The order to attack being given, the two thousand Highlandmen, who were then drawn up in very good order, ran towards the enemy in a disorderly manner, always firing some dropping shots, which drew upon them a general salvo from the enemy, which began at their left, opposite to us, and run to their right. No sooner did that begin than the Highlanders threw themselves flat upon their bellies ; and, when it slackened, they started to their feet. Most threw away their fuzies, and, drawing their swords, pierced them everywhere with an incredible vigour and rapidity. In four minutes' time from their receiving the order to attack, not only all in our view and before us turned their backs, but the five squadrons on their left, commanded by General Whitham, went to the

right about, and never looked back until they had got near Dunblane, almost two miles from us.”*

Towards the end of January it was found that neither the Chevalier nor the earl were disposed again to meet the government troops, notwithstanding the pressure and enthusiasm of the Highlanders, who abused the principal officers with insulting epithets, and reproached them with betraying the army and their Prince. It was on this occasion that a Highlander on being asked by a friend of the Earl of Mar, what he would have their officers to do, exclaimed—“Do ! What did you call us to take arms for ? Was it to run away ? What did the king come hither for ? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a blow for their lives ? Let us die like men and not like dogs.” Sir Donald, seeing the state of matters, and quite satisfied that the Chevalier and Mar could not be induced again to meet the enemy, left them, and returned with his followers, numbering about a thousand able-bodied warriors, to the Isle of Skye, where he continued for some time at their head. Ultimately a detachment was sent against him to the Island, under command of a Colonel Clayton. He made no active resistance, but being unable to obtain a satisfactory assurance of protection from the government, he passed over to Uist, where he remained among his friends and vassals until he found means to escape in a ship which soon after carried him safely to France.

He was afterwards attainted, by Act of Parliament,† for his share in the rebellion, and his estates were, like most others in the Highlands, forfeited to the crown.

He married Mary, daughter of Donald Macdonald of Castletown,‡ by whom he had issue—

1. Donald, who succeeded him as representative of the family.

* Master of Sinclair's Memoirs, pp. 216-217.

† George I., cap. 43.

‡ She married, secondly, as his first wife, Alexander Macdonald, first of Boisdale, with issue.

2. Mary, who married John Martin of Flodigarry, with issue—a daughter, Kate, married Rev. Donald Nicholson.

3. Margaret, who married Captain John Macqueen, with issue, two daughters, who died without issue.

4. Isabel, who married, 3rd of January, 1725, Alexander Munro, M.D., Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh, with issue, now represented by George Home Monro-Binning-Home of Argaty and Softlaw, who claims to be “Heir-general and Representative of the Earls of Ross and Lords of Skye, and of the Lords of the Isles”. She died on the 10th of December, 1774.

5. Janet, who married Norman Macleod, XVIII. of Macleod, with issue.

He died, of paralysis, in 1718, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his only son, who, although he never possessed the property, we shall reckon as

XXI. SIR DONALD MACDONALD,

Twelfth baron and fifth baronet of Sleat. He is said to have been the last of the family born in the ancient Castle of Duntulm, and to have been a most amiable and promising young man, beloved by all his kindred and clan. On the occasion of a visit to friends in the Island of Bernera, in 1720, he suddenly died shortly after his arrival from the bursting of a blood vessel, to the great grief of his family and all his retainers. Dying unmarried, he was succeeded as representative of the family by his uncle of Oronsay,

XXII. SIR JAMES MACDONALD,

Thirteenth baron and sixth baronet of Sleat, who married Janet, daughter of Alexander Macleod of Grishernish, with issue—

1. Alexander, who succeeded.

2. Margaret, who married Sir Robert Douglas of Glen-

bervie, baronet, author of the well-known Peerage and Baronage, with issue.

3. Isabel, who died young.

4. Janet, who married Sir Alexander Mackenzie, baronet, V. of Coul, with issue.

He married secondly, Margaret, daughter of John Macdonald of Castletown, with issue—

5. John, who died young.

He died at Forres in 1723, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXIII. SIR ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

Fourteenth baron and seventh baronet of Sleat. Kenneth Mackenzie, an advocate in Edinburgh, and an intimate friend of the family of Sleat, purchased the estates, which were at the time affected by considerable debts, for behoof of the family, from the Commissioners and Trustees for the sale of Forfeited Estates in Scotland, and acquired a disposition of them in his own favour of date 14th of October, 1724. With the view of preventing any after forfeiture, Mr. Mackenzie entered into a contract with Sir Alexander, as heir-male of the attainted Sir Donald Macdonald, by which he disposed to him, and to his heirs and assignees whomsoever, under certain prohibitory, irritant, and resolute clauses, the lands and barony of Macdonald, and also assigned to him the procuratory of resignation contained in the disposition which he himself had obtained in October, 1724, from the Commissioners and Trustees for Forfeited Estates. Upon the procuratory contained in this disposition and Sir Alexander's resignation thereto contained in the contract, a charter was expedite in his favour of the said lands, under the Great Seal, upon the 13th of February, 1727, under the conditions of entail cited in the contract, all of which are engrossed in the charter and in the instrument of sasine in his favour following thereon, dated 12th of August, and registered in the General Register of Sasines on the 2nd of September, 1827. The entail is dated 7th September, and 8th November, 1726 ;

but it is not recorded in the record of Tailzies. The destination is "to and in favour of Sir Alexander Macdonald and his heirs-male, whom failing, to his heirs whatsoever, heritably and irredeemably"; and under it the heir in possession has power "to provide for his younger children, besides the heir, with competent provisions, agreeably to the circumstances of the estate for the time," subject to certain special qualifications therein provided. In his marriage contract Sir Alexander settled the estate of Macdonald upon "the heirs-male of the marriage".

The current tradition in the Isle of Skye respecting these transactions conveys a slightly different account of the manner in which the estates were ultimately secured to the family. The Tutor, who no doubt was left in charge by Mr. Mackenzie until the attainder was removed, is said to have been a handsome, well-built man, distinguished for great athletic powers and for his amiable and gentle disposition. He, and his elder brother, Sir James of Oronsay, took, as we have seen, a distinguished part in the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he held the rank of Major under Mar, with their brother, Sir Donald, who died in 1718. Being married to one of the twelve daughters of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, he was in a position to secure great influence in his own favour and that of the family; for the other eleven were married respectively to Alexander Drummond of Bathaldies; Allan Maclean of Ardgour; Grant of Glenmoriston; Allan Cameron of Glendessary; Macpherson of Cluny; Archibald Cameron of Dungallan; Peter Campbell of Barcaldine; John Campbell of Achallader; Robert Barclay of Urie; Macgregor of Bochady; and Macdonald of Morar; while her eldest brother, Sir John Cameron, was married to a daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell. The current account * in Skye is as follows:—During the period of forfeiture the Barony of Troternish was managed by a government fac-

* Taken down from old John Macdonald, who died in 1835 at the extraordinary age of 107 years, by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor. For a full account of John Macdonald, see *Celtic Magazine*, vol. iii., pp. 462-66.

tor of the name of Macleod, *alias* MacRuairidh Mhic Uilleim, a hard, cruel, and merciless man, whose very appearance was abhorred and detested by all the inhabitants of Troternish. The forfeiture of the Macdonald estates for the part taken by the chief and his family in the recent rebellion, was a subject of deep interest to many powerful persons in the kingdom, of whom several were on friendly terms with the government of the day. Nothing was left undone by these friends to bring influence to bear upon more influential persons at head-quarters on behalf of the powerful and highly respected family which had been deprived of such a vast and valuable property. The government yielded after a time so far as to confer a right to the forfeited estate, not directly on the rightful heirs, but on some of the gentlemen who had appealed to government in behalf of the Clan Domhnuill. The principal among these was Mackenzie of Delvin, and it is said that His Majesty the King and his courtiers agreed to infest that gentleman in the forfeited estates under a secret understanding that, in due time, the property would be restored to the rightful owners, as the government did not deem it prudent to make permanent enemies of such a powerful sept as the Macdonalds of the Isles, who might induce other branches of the clan as well as powerful chiefs of other clans to unite with them in refusing allegiance to the reigning dynasty. Be this as it may, "it is well known that the forfeited estates were not made over to the rightful heir but to his brother, William the Taughtear. No sooner, however, did this take place than the Taughtear delivered the estate over to the proper heir, and did not retain any portion thereof to himself, except a free grant of the farm of Aird during his lifetime, and a perpetual lease of the Island of Vallay, on the coast of North Uist, for his heirs and successors, for a shilling a year as feu. The Taughtear lived and died at Aird, a place about two miles north of Duntulm Castle, and at the most northern point of Skye. The house he lived in is to this day called 'The Taughtear'. When he died his remains were interred in Reilig Mhic

Dhomhnuill, in the parish burying-ground, within seven or eight yards of the Kingsburgh mausoleum, wherein rest the remains of the celebrated Flora Macdonald. The funeral of the Taigh-tear was attended by many thousands from all parts of the Island, and of the surrounding Isles. An idea may be formed of the number present on that occasion, when it is stated that the procession was two miles in length, six men walking abreast. Seven pipers were in attendance, who, placed at certain distances in the procession, severally played the funeral coronach. Upwards of three hundred imperial gallons of whisky were provided for the occasion, with every other description of refreshments in proportional abundance. The only other funeral in Skye that ever resembled it was that of Flora Macdonald, which was about as numerously attended. Ever since the death of the Taigh-tear, his descendants from sire to son lived at Vallay in comfort and happiness, until about fifty or sixty years ago the property became burdened, and had to be left by the only remaining heir, who, when a young man, entered the navy."

Sir Alexander kept out of the Rebellion of 1745, more, no doubt, from motives of prudence than from any want of sympathy with the Jacobite cause.

It is quite true that both Sir Alexander and Macleod of Dunvegan promised to join Prince Charles if he brought over a French army with him, though they afterwards joined the government against him. Miss Macleod of Dunvegan in a letter to the author, says that she recollects seeing in the Macleod charter chest a correspondence which had taken place between the Prince, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and her ancestor the Macleod of 1745, "inviting Prince Charlie to come over several months before he arrived". This "very interesting" correspondence is now lost. In the light of these facts the following letter addressed to President Forbes will be found both instructive and interesting, as showing the amount of caution, indeed, duplicity, which some of the chiefs practised:—"My Lord—Probably you'll have heard, before this reaches

you, that some of our neighbours of the main land have been mad enough to arm and join the Young Adventurer mentioned in Macleod's letter to you. Your lordship will find our conduct with regard to this unhappy scrape such as you'd wish, and such as the friendship you have always showed us will prompt to direct. Young Clanranold is deluded, notwithstanding his assurances to us lately ; and what is more astonishing, Lochiel's prudence has quite forsaken him. You know too much of Glengarry not to know that he'll easily be led to be of the Party ; but, as far as I can learn, he has not yet been with them. Mr. Maclean of Coll is here with his daughter, lately married to Tallisker ; and he assures us of his own wisdom ; and, as he has mostly the direction of that Clan, promises as much as in him lies to prevent their being led astray. You may believe, my lord, our spirits are in a good deal of agitation, and that we are much at a loss how to behave in so extraordinary an occurrence. That we will have no connection with these madmen is certain, but are bewildered in every other respect till we hear from you. Whenever these rash men meet with a check, 'tis more than probable they'll endeavour to retire to their islands ; how we ought to behave in that event we expect to know from your Lordship. Their force, even in that case, must be very considerable, to be repelled with batons ; and we have no other arms in any quantity. I pledge Macleod in writing for him and myself. I come now to tell you, what you surely know, that I am most faithfully, my Lord, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) ALEX. MACDONALD.*

Tallisker, 11th Aug., 1745.

The part which Sir Alexander took during the Rebellion of 1745, and the interest he and his lady took in the after proceedings—the escape of Prince Charles and the adventures of Flora Macdonald—are too well known to require recapitulation here ; especially as they will appear at length,

* Culloden Papers.

in another work preparing for the press*. We may however record an incident which occurred during his visit, after Culloden, to Fort-Augustus, where he went to meet the Duke of Cumberland. On presenting himself, the Duke, in a half jocular way, exclaimed "Oh! is this the great rebel of the Isles," when Sir Alexander immediately and tartly replied, "My Lord Duke, had I been the rebel of the Isles, your Royal Highness would never have crossed the river Spey".

Sir Alexander was very popular in the Isles, where his hospitality was unbounded. He constantly dwelt among his people, and, in consequence, wielded very great influence over them. This is proved in a special manner by his having succeeded in keeping them from following Prince Charles, for they all favoured his cause. It is said that his consumption of claret at table equalled a hogshead per week. Lady Margaret was equally popular. Mrs. Mackinnon Corry told Dr. Johnson "that she was quite adored in Skye," and that "when she travelled through the Island, the people ran in crowds before her and took the stones off the road lest her horse should stumble and she be hurt". She was one of the greatest beauties and most accomplished ladies of her age, graces which she inherited from her mother "the greatest beauty of her day in Scotland," whose eight daughters "were all equally remarkable with herself for a good mien," and all "beautiful women, conspicuous for their stature and carriage, all dressed in the splendid though formal fashions of that period, and inspired at once with dignity of birth and consciousness of beauty.† Johnson says that even in her eighty-fifth year the countess had "little reason to accuse time of depredations on her beauty"; while Boswell describes her as "majestic, her manners high-bred, her reading extensive, and her conversation elegant". It is not surprising that the good and beautiful daughter of such a mother should have been the theme of English and Gaelic bards, and that her memory

* The History and Adventures of Flora Macdonald: by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A. : A. & W. Mackenzie, Inverness.

† Traditions of Edinburgh.

should be revered among such a warm-hearted people as her lord's retainers in the Isle of Skye.

Sir Alexander refused to lead his men in person, saying, in reply to President Forbes, that he must remain in Skye "to give the people directions and to keep the proper countenance in that country". This indeed was absolutely necessary, for scarcely any one could be induced to join against the Prince. Those enrolled were never told whether they were to fight for or against him, and they were greatly disappointed, on arriving at Inverness, to find that they had to fight for the government against their Prince, their brother Highlanders and Islesmen. Though some time previously Macleod of Macleod wrote to President Forbes that he and Sir Alexander could raise from fifteen hundred to two thousand men among their followers, only two companies of Macdonalds turned up at Inverness, where they arrived on the 31st of December, under the command, as Captains, of James Macdonald, of Aird, Troternish, and John Macdonald of Kirkibost, both sons of William the Tutor, and cousins of Sir Alexander himself.

Sir Alexander was in great favour with President Forbes of Culloden, as well as with the Duke of Cumberland. His Royal Highness afterwards corresponded with him, and complimented him on his loyalty, at the same time assuring him of his friendly regard.

He married, first, on the 5th of April, 1733, Anne, daughter of David Erskine, of Dun, in the county of Forfar (a Lord of Session and Justiciary), and relict of James, Lord Ogilvie, son of David, third Earl of Airly, and by her (who died in Edinburgh in the 27th year of her age) had one son—

1. Donald, who, born 10th Jaurary, 1734, died young.

He married, secondly, on the 24th of April, 1739, Lady Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglintoun, and by her (who died in Welbeck Street, London, on the 30th of March, 1799) had issue—

2. James, who succeeded his father.
3. Alexander, who succeeded his brother, Sir James ; and

4. ARCHIBALD, born, after his father's death, in 1747. He studied for the law, and was called to the English Bar, where he soon distinguished himself; early in his career he was made a King's Counsel. In 1780, he was appointed a Welsh Judge; Solicitor-General, 7th of April, 1784; Attorney-General, 28th of June, 1788, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. In 1777, he was elected Member of Parliament for Hindon. At the general election in 1780 he was returned for Newcastle-under-Lyne, and re-elected in 1784 and 1790. He was appointed Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1793; made a Privy Councillor, and, on the 27th of November, 1813, he was created a baronet. On the 26th of December, 1777, he married Lady Louisa Leveson Gower, eldest daughter of Granville-Leveson, first Marquis of Stafford, K.G., with issue—(1) James Macdonald, who on the death of his father, on the 10th of May, 1826, succeeded as second baronet. (2) Francis Macdonald, a captain in the Royal Navy; born on the 22nd of May, 1785, and died in the West Indies, on the 28th of June, 1804, in the twentieth year of his age, without issue; (3) Caroline Margaret, who died young; (4) Susan, who died young at Lisbon in 1803; (5) Louisa, who died unmarried on the 15th of April, 1862; and (6) Caroline-Diana, who married the Rev. Thomas Randolph, Prebendary of St. Paul's, Chaplain to the Queen, and Rector of Hadham, Herts, son of the Right Rev. Dr. John Randolph, Bishop of London. She died on the 13th of December, 1867. SIR JAMES, born on the 14th of February, 1784, was, in 1805, elected a member of Parliament, for Newcastle-under-Lyne; also in 1806 and 1807. He afterwards represented Calne. In 1829, he was elected M.P. for Hampshire, and was one of the clerks of the Privy Seal. He married, first, on the 5th of September, 1805, Elizabeth, second daughter of John Sparrow of Bishton, Staffordshire, without issue. He married, secondly, 10th August, 1810, Sophia, eldest daughter of William-Charles, 4th Earl of Albemarle, with issue (1), Archibald Keppel, the present Baronet; (2), Granville-Southwell,

born 1821; died 1831. He married, thirdly, on the 20th of April, 1826, Anne Charlotte, daughter of the Rev. J. Savile-Ogle of Kirkley Hall, Northumberland. Sir James died of cholera, in 1832, in which year he had been appointed, in the month of May, High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. He was succeeded by SIR ARCHIBALD KEPPEL MACDONALD of East Sheen, the third Baronet, who was born on the 15th of October, 1820, educated at Harrow, and succeeded his father, Sir James, in June, 1832. He married, first, on the 1st of May, 1849, Lady Margaret Sophia Coke, daughter of Thomas-William, first Earl of Leicester. She died, 4th November, 1868, without issue. He married, secondly, 25th November, 1869, Catherine Mary, eldest daughter of J. Coulthurst of Gargrave Hall, Yorkshire, widow of the Hon. Thomas-Edward Stonor, eldest son of the third Lord Camoys, with issue (1) Archibald-John, born 2nd of February, 1871, and (2) Mary-Catherine. Sir Archibald was a captain in the Scots Fusilier Guards, from which he retired in 1849, and equerry to the late Duke of Sussex. He is a Deputy-Lieutenant and Magistrate of Hampshire, and was High Sheriff of the County in 1865.

Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat died of pleurisy, in the 36th year of his age, at Bernera, Glenelg, on the 23rd of November, 1746, while on his way to London to wait upon the Duke of Cumberland. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXIV. SIR JAMES MACDONALD,

Fifteenth baron, and eighth baronet of Sleat. He was served heir to his father on the 24th of January, 1751, when only 10 years of age, with the view of taking up the procuratory of resignation contained in his father's contract of marriage between him and his second wife, Lady Margaret Montgomery, dated 23rd of April, 1739, in which the lands and barony of Macdonald were made over to

the heirs male procreated of that marriage. Thereafter a charter under the Great Seal, dated 10th December, 1754, was expedite in favour of Sir James of the lands and barony of Macdonald, under the conditions of entail specified in the original contract and Sir Alexander's charter which followed thereon. Sir James was infeft on the 12th of August in the same year, and his instrument of sasine is recorded in the General Register of Sasines, under date of 15th September, 1756. In 1751, Mackenzie of Delvine bought the estate of Strath from John Mackinnon of Mackinnon, for behoof of Sir James, at the time a minor. The property of Strath remained in *haereditate jacente* of Delvine, while the fee of superiority was in *haereditate jacente* of Sir James. A charter of adjudication of these lands was afterwards expedite in favour of Sir James, his heirs and assignees, upon certain debts paid out of the price, but the property was not finally conveyed to the Macdonald family until 1799, when Mr. Kenneth Mackenzie, Delvine's heir, granted a disposition to Alexander Wentworth, Lord Macdonald, in which he admitted the trust *ab initio*, and disposed the estate of Strath to his lordship and his heirs and assignees in fee simple, with procuratory and precept, upon which a charter and infeftment followed in his lordship's favour.

Old Kingsburgh, on his liberation from imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, for helping Prince Charles to escape, on the 4th of July, 1747, was appointed tutor to Sir James, in which capacity he acted with prudence and judgment, until the latter came of age, when, in consideration of his long and faithful services to the family, Sir James granted him an annuity of fifty pounds a year, which he continued to receive until he died, at the great age of eighty-three, on the 13th of February, 1772.

In 1764, Sir James went on a shooting expedition to his property of North Uist, accompanied by Colonel John Macleod of Talisker and several other Skye gentlemen. While deer-stalking at a place called *Airidh-na-Gaoithe*, Colonel Macleod's gun went off accidentally, a twig of

heather having caught the trigger. The shot lodged in Sir James' leg, when he instantly fell to the ground. The party soon procured blankets from the nearest cottages, on which he was carried over the moor, a distance of five miles, to Vallay House, the residence of his relative, Ewen Macdonald of Vallay. Mr. Macdonald, celebrated locally as a poet and musician, composed, on this occasion, the well-known air, *Cumha na Coise*, "the Lament for the Foot," to words beginning :—

Mo ghaol, mo ghaol, do chas thruabhach,
 Dha 'n tig an t-osan 's am feileadh ;
 Bu leat toiseach na'n ceudan
 'N am feidh 'bhi ga'n ruith.

The inhabitants of the Island, suspecting that Talisker had intentionally shot their chief, at once, on hearing of the accident, flew to arms, surrounded Vallay House, threatening to take Colonel Macleod's life, and it was only after Macdonald of Vallay and his other friends, in whom they had confidence, positively assured them that the mishap was purely accidental, that they were persuaded with difficulty to disband and return to their homes. Sir James was confined to his friend's house for several weeks, and upon his recovery, Vallay composed the well-known *piobaireachd*, "Sir James Macdonald of the Isles' Salute," which he, at the same time, played with great taste and skill on his great Highland bag-pipes.*

Sir James Macdonald was a distinguished scholar. A contemporary describes him :—"As one of the most extraordinary young men I ever knew. He studied very hard ; was a scholar and a mathematician ; and yet, at twenty, I have heard him talk with a knowledge of the world which one would not have expected to hear but from the experience of age. He had great and noble schemes for the civilisation and improvements of his own country, and appeared, upon the whole, to be one of those superior spirits which seemed formed to show how far the

* Cameron's History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye.

powers of humanity can extend.”* He was undoubtedly a young man of great natural parts, and these were improved by a liberal education and travel. He was “of a most sweet disposition, and, for learning and the liberal arts and sciences inferior to none of his contemporaries”. Being of a very delicate constitution, it was thought a warmer climate would suit him better. He therefore went to Italy in 1765, where he met and associated with most of the learned men of that country. He finally found his way to Rome, where, after a lingering illness, he died on the 26th of July, 1766, greatly regretted by all who had made his acquaintance. Cardinal Piccolomini, governor of Rome at the time, composed an elegant Latin poem in his memory, and he was commanded by Pope Clement XIII. to accord to Sir James the most magnificent public funeral ever given to a Protestant. He was accompanied in his travels on the Continent by the Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith. On his death, his own countrymen and foreigners—men of learning at home and abroad—“contended with each other who should pay the greatest marks of respect to his merits and his virtues”. His mother, who outlived him, erected a monument to his memory in the Parish Church of Sleat, which had been executed at Rome. It has the following inscription, composed by his personal friend, George, Lord Lyttelton :—

To the memory of Sir James Macdonald, Baronet, who, in the flower of youth, had attained to so eminent a degree of knowledge in mathematics, philosophy, languages, and in every other branch of useful and polite learning, as few have acquired in a long life wholly devoted to study; yet, to his erudition, he joined what can rarely be found with it, great talents for business, great propriety of behaviour, and great politeness of manners. His eloquence was sweet, correct, and flowing; his memory vast and exact; his judgment strong and accute; all which endowments, united with the most amiable temper, and every private virtue, procured him, not only in his own country, but also from foreign nations, the highest marks of esteem. In the year of our Lord 1766, the 25th of his life, after a long and painful illness, which he supported with admirable prudence and fortitude, he died at Rome, where, notwithstanding the differences of religion, such extraordinary honours were paid to his memory as had never graced that of any other subject since the

* Carter's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 168, quoted by Douglas in the Peerage.

days of Sir Philip Sydney. The fame he left behind him is the best consolation to his afflicted family and to his countrymen in the Isle, for whose benefit he had planned many useful improvements, which his fruitful genius suggested, and his active spirit promoted, under the sober direction of a clear and enlightened understanding.

He was usually styled "The Scottish Marcellus," and it is said of him that in extent of learning and genius he resembled the admirable Crichton. Gaelic elegies were composed upon him by his natural brother, Archibald, a distinguished warrior and poet, popularly known as, "An Ciaran Mabach"; and also by John MacCodrum, the celebrated Gaelic bard of South Uist.

General Stewart of Garth laments his early death in the following terms:—"To a distant and unimproved region like Skye, the loss of such a man was irreparable. The example of his learning and virtues, his kindly feelings towards his people, and the encouragements and improvements he contemplated for them, would, no doubt, have produced incalculable advantages. His learning and accomplishments could have been understood and appreciated by the gentlemen farmers, tacksmen, and others of his people, who, as I have already noticed, were so well educated that conversations were frequently carried on among them in the Latin language."*

Sir James was educated at Eton, where he had been sent early in life at his own earnest solicitation. Dying unmarried, he was succeeded by his next brother,

XXV. SIR ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

25 Sixteenth baron, and ninth baronet of Sleat, who, on the 17th of July, 1766, was, by patent, created a Peer of Ireland by the title of Baron Macdonald of Sleat, County Antrim, to himself and the heirs male of his body. In May, 1761, he obtained a commission as Ensign in the Coldstream Regiment of Foot-Guards. On the 3d of May, 1768, he

* Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. ii., p. 419,

married Elizabeth Diana, eldest daughter of Godfrey Bosville of Gunthwaite, county of York. In the marriage contract, which is dated 28th of March, 1768, provision is made for an annuity of £500 in favour of the lady should she survive him, and £5000 to be paid to his younger children, whether sons or daughters, "at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas next after their attaining the age of 21 years complete, or after their father's death, whichever of these periods shall first happen". In the case of more daughters or younger children than one he reserved power to himself to divide that sum between them by a deed of writing under his hand at his own discretion, but should he fail to execute such a deed, the money was to be divided equally between his younger children. On the 24th of September, 1794, he further provided for a sum of £7500 to each of his four younger sons. Being a keen politician, he made arrangements by which Sir Archibald, his brother, and William Macdonald, his agent, obtained feu-charters of parts of the estate, while other portions were conveyed to political friends in liferent or wadset, to qualify them as voters for the county. Shortly afterwards these "confidential friends," as they are described, re-disposed the property which they had acquired in feu to his lordship, but no infeftment was taken by him on these re-conveyances.

Lord Macdonald was educated at Eton, and was a most accomplished and able man. He took a considerable interest in literature, and was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries. He had a great taste for music, and encouraged those who took an interest in the art. A celebrated harper named O'Kane, who travelled in the Highlands in those days, was often entertained by his lordship, and he used to be delighted and charmed with his performances. "No one was better able to feel and to estimate the superior talents of O'Kane, for I can vouch Lord Macdonald to have been one of our best amateurs on the violin, and one of the best judges of musical talents of that period. There had been for a great length of time in the family a valuable

harp key ; it was finely ornamented with gold and silver, and with a precious stone. This key was said to have been worth eighty or one hundred guineas, and, on this occasion, our itinerant harper had the good fortune of being presented by Lord Macdonald with this curious and valuable implement of his profession.”*

In December, 1777, letters of service were issued to his lordship to raise a regiment in the Highlands, with an offer of the Lieutenant-Colonelcy. He however declined the rank offered to him, but recommended that it should be given to Major John Macdonell of Lochgarry, who was in consequence at once appointed Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant. Lochgarry raised a fine body of men, numbering 1086, and Lord Macdonald's influence was extensively and successfully exerted to complete the fine regiment afterwards known as the 76th or “Macdonald's Highlanders”. A dispute arose in 1799, about the bounty money of the men, when, before the matter could be arranged, Lord Macdonald had, at the request of the men, to be sent for. When the question in dispute was explained to his Lordship “he advanced the money claimed by the soldiers, which amounted to a considerable sum, taking upon himself the risk of receiving it from those whose conduct had nearly ruined a brave and honourable body of men, as they afterwards proved themselves to be”.†

His lordship was distinguished from the other barons of the family by the appellation of the “Morair Bàn,” or the Fair-haired Lord. And “being an English-bred chieftain” and severe in exacting and increasing his rents, he was somewhat unpopular with his principal tenants, several of whom combined to keep the lands at the old rents, and many of them feeling keenly the hard pressure of the times were forced to emigrate.‡ “The harbour of Portree,” says Boswell, describing his own and Dr. Johnson's arrival there,

* Gunn on the Harp.

† Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders.

‡ History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye.

"is a large and good one ; there was lying in it a vessel, to carry off emigrants, called the *Nestor*. It made a short settlement of the differences between a chief and his clan." Referring to his lordship's education in the South of England, "Dr. Johnson observed of this mode of educating a young man, heir to a great estate, at a distance from, and in ignorance of the country where he has so high a stake ; that he cannot acquire a knowledge of the people ; can form no local attachment ; be a stranger to his own property ; and to his tenants ; is often disgusted with both, although the one be valuable by its produce, and the other estimable in character. 'A strong-minded man, like Sir James Macdonald, may be improved by an English education, but in general they (the Highland chieftains) will be tamed into insignificance.' In continuation of the same subject, Boswell says 'my endeavours to rouse the English-bred chieftain in whose house we were to the feudal and patriarchal feeling, proving ineffectual, Dr. Johnson this morning tried to bring him to our way of thinking.' *Johnson*, 'Were I in your place, Sir, in seven years I would make this an independent Island. I would roast oxen whole, and hang out a flag to the Macdonalds,' Sir Alexander was still starting difficulties. *Johnson*, 'Nay, Sir, if you are born to object, I have done with you ; Sir, I would have a magazine of arms.' *Sir Alexander*, 'They would rust.' *Johnson*, 'Let there be men to keep them clean ; your ancestors did not let their arms rust.' Four years after this conversation, Sir Alexander found that arms put into the hands of his people would not be suffered to rust, and that, when an opportunity offered, they were ready to take them up in defence of their country." *

By his lady, as above, he had issue—

1. Alexander Wentworth, who succeeded as second Lord Macdonald.
2. Godfrey, who afterwards became third Lord Macdonald.

* General Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. ii., pp. 420, 21.

3. Archibald, born 21st May, 1777. He was a Captain in the Prince of Wales' Own Regiment of Light Dragoons ; and married, at Edinburgh, on the 29th of October, 1802, Jane, eldest daughter and co-heir of Duncan Campbell of Ardneave, Argyllshire, with issue—(1) Archibald, born 17th of August, 1803 ; (2) Campbell, born 16th of June, 1808 ; (3) James, born 27th of January, 1811 ; (4) Nixon-Alexander, born 5th of February, 1813 ; and (5) Arthur, born in 1816. He had also two daughters—Mary and Elizabeth Diana.

4. James, born on the 29th of January, 1783, who became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the first regiment of Foot Guards ; served in the Mediterranean in 1807-8 ; in Spain under Sir John Moore ; and in the expedition to the Scheldt in 1809. He was killed, unmarried, at Bergen-op-Zoom, 9th of March, 1814.

5. Dudley Stewart Erskine, born 14th of February, 1786, a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died, 26th of August, 1840.

6. John-Sinclair, born 11th March, 1788.

7. William, born 1789.

8. Diana, who married, as his second wife, on the 5th of March, 1788, the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, in the county of Caithness, baronet, a member of Parliament, a Privy Councillor, and President of the Board of Agriculture, with issue. She died 22nd of April, 1845.

9. Elizabeth. 10. Annabella.

Sir Alexander, first Lord Macdonald, died on the 12th of September, 1795, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXVI. SIR ALEXANDER WENTWORTH,

Seventeenth baron, tenth baronet, and second Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who was born on the 9th of December, 1773. He expended about £35,000 on the improvement of the property. Among others was the erection of the fine modern family residence, Armadale Castle, in the Parish

of Sleat. On the 21st of January, 1815, we find him writing to his brother, General Bosville, as next heir of entail, acquainting him that certain improvements had been going on since 1800, "and are still in progress, particularly the erection of a new mansion-house and offices at Armadale, for which I am now forming a contract with tradesmen". Armadale Castle is a fine Gothic building. The lobby and staircase are very fine, and, from the correctness of design and elegance of finish, have been very much admired. A portrait of the ancestor of the family, Somerled of the Isles, in full Highland costume, in stained glass, adorns the staircase window, and, from the lobby, presents a very beautiful appearance.

In 1798, his lordship requested permission of his majesty to raise a regiment on his estates in the Isles. This request was readily granted and a fine body of men was soon recruited, called the Regiment of the Isles; inspected and embodied at Inverness, by Major-General Leith Hay on the 4th of June, 1799. It would appear, General Stewart says, from the selection made that there was no want of men on Lord Macdonald's estate, as their age averaged twenty-two years, a period of life best calculated to enter upon military service. They afterwards behaved themselves exceedingly well. "The misunderstandings, unhappily too frequent in Highland regiments in former times, were never heard of in the Regiment of the Isles. At the reduction of the regiment at Fort George, in 1802, the soldiers ordered out all carriages in the garrison, and putting the officers in them, dragged them to the village of Campbelton, where they treated them with wine and other delicacies."

His Lordship died unmarried, on the 19th of June, 1824, when he was succeeded by his next brother,

XXVII. SIR GODFREY MACDONALD BOSVILLE,

Eighteenth baron, eleventh baronet, and third Lord Macdonald of Sleat, a Major-General in the army, who assumed the additional name of Bosville after that of Macdonald,

but dropped it on his accession to the estates and titles of Macdonald. He was born on the 14th of October, 1775, and on the 15th of October, 1803, he married Louisa Maria, daughter of Farley Edsir. By her, who died on the 10th of February, 1835, he had issue—

1. Alexander William Robert Bosville, who succeeded, in terms of a special Act of Parliament, to the English estates of Thorpe.

2. Godfrey William Wentworth, who succeeded, in terms of the same Act, to the titles of Macdonald and the Scotch estates.

3. James William, born 31st October, 1810. He is a Lieutenant-General; C.B.; Knight of the Legion of Honour; of the Medjidie; A.D.C., Equerry, and Private Secretary to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief; and Colonel of the 21st Hussars. He served in the Crimea, on the Staff of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge; had two horses shot under him—one at Alma, and the other at Inkerman. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel for distinguished services in the field; became full Colonel in 1860; Major-General in 1868; and Lieutenant-General in October, 1877. He married, on the 26th September, 1859, Elizabeth-Nina, second daughter of Joseph-Henry, third Lord Wallscourt, with issue—(1), George Godfrey, Page of Honour to the Queen, born 17th of May, 1861; and (2), a daughter, Mary Selina-Honoria.

4. William, born 27th September, 1817, an officer in the army, died unmarried on the 11th of May, 1847.

5. Louisa, who, on the 4th of June, 1826, married the Right Hon. John, 5th Earl of Hopetoun, with issue—an only son, John-Alexander, 6th and late Earl. She died in 1854.

6. Elizabeth Diana Bosville, who married, on the 20th of June, 1825, Duncan Davidson of Tulloch, the present Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Ross, with issue—(1), Duncan H. C. R. Davidson, yr. of Tulloch, who married Georgina Elizabeth, daughter of John Mackenzie, M.D., of Eileanach, with issue—Duncan; John Francis Barnard;

Mary ; Elizabeth Diana ; Adelaide Lucy ; Georgiana Veronica ; and Christina Isabella. (2), Godfrey Wentworth, died unmarried ; (3), Caroline Louisa, who married Captain George Wade, Commissioner of the Sceyelles, with issue, two daughters ; (4), Julia Bosville, who married the Hon. Henry Chetwynd, R.N., with issue, four sons and three daughters ; (5), Adelaide Lucy, who married Colonel George William Holmes Ross of Cromarty, late 92d Highlanders, Commanding the Highland Rifle (Ross-shire) Militia, with issue—(*a*), Duncan Munro, R.N. ; (*b*), Hugh Rose, R.A., died in 1879 ; (*c*), Walter Charteris, lieutenant 68th Light Infantry ; (*d*), Katherine, married Frank Maud Reid, Captain, 71st Highland Light Infantry ; (*e*), Louisa Jane Hamilton, married the present Lord Macdonald of Sleat ; (*f*), Ida Eleanora Constance, who on the 15th of June, 1881, married Captain the Hon. Godfrey Ernest Percival Willoughby, born 18th June, 1847, late 9th Lancers, heir presumptive to the present Lord Middleton ; (6), Matilda Justina, who married Lieutenant-Colonel Craigie-Halkett of Cramond, with issue—Duncan, Lieutenant, 78th Highlanders, and six daughters ; (7), Diana Bosville, died unmarried ; (8), Louisa Maria, died unmarried ; (9), Elizabeth Diana, who married Patrick A. Watson Carnegie of Lour. The Hon. Elizabeth Diana Bosville Davidson, died in 1839.

7. Julia, who married, on the 11th of October, 1838, the Rev. Charles Walter Hudson, Rector of Trowell, Nottinghamshire, grandson maternally of George, first Marquis Townshend, with issue—all dead.

8. Susan Hussey, who married, 9th of February, 1832, Richard Beaumont, Captain, R.N. (both dead), with issue,—(1), Godfrey, captain in the Guards ; (2), Richard ; (3), Dudley ; (4), Cecil W., R.N. ; (5), Diana, who married Count Gourowski Wichde ; (6), Averil, who married Hussey Vivian, M.P., with issue ; (7), Gwuidaline. The Hon. Susan Hussey Beaumont, died on the 5th of November, 1879.

9. Diana, married, 25th of April, 1839, Colonel John George Smyth of Heath Hall, Yorkshire, late M.P., and

grandson maternally of George, fourth Duke of Grafton. He died on the 10th of June, 1869. She died in 1880, and left issue—(1), George John Fitzroy, born 13th September, 1841 ; (2), Henry Edward, born 26th of March, 1843 ; (3), Diana Elizabeth, who, on the 21st of April, 1858, married the Earl of Harewood ; (4), Louisa ; (5), Mary ; (6), Eva.

10. Jane Bosville.

11. Marianne, who, on 28th of June, 1840, married Henry Martin Turnor, late Captain, 1st King's Dragoon Guards, with issue—(1), Archibald Henry, late Lieutenant, R.N., who died unmarried ; (2), Charles, Captain, Life Guards ; (3), Henrietta Minna, the present Countess of Eldon ; (4), Florence ; (5), Mabel. Captain Turnor died on the 12th of July, 1876.

12. Octavia Sophia, who, on the 7th of December, 1841, married William James Hope Johnstone of Annandale (who died 17th of March, 1850), with issue—(1), John James, late M.P. for the county of Dumfries ; (2), Percy Alexander ; (3), Wentworth William ; (4) Alice Minna.

His lordship died on the 18th of October, 1832, and was succeeded in the Scottish titles and estates by his second son,

XXVIII. SIR GODFREY WILLIAM WENTWORTH,

Nineteenth baron, twelfth baronet, and fourth Lord Macdonald of Sleat, who was born on the 16th of March, 1809, and married on the 21st of August, 1845, Maria Anne, daughter of Thomas Wyndham of Cromer Hall, Norfolk, with issue—

1. Somerled James Brudenell, who succeeded his father.

2. Ronald Archibald Bosville, the present peer.

3. Godfrey Alan, who died in infancy, on the 7th of July, 1858.

4. Eva Maria Louisa, who, on the 7th of June, 1873, married Captain Algernon Langham, Grenadier Guards. He died in 1874.

5. Flora Matilda, who died, unmarried, on the 12th of March, 1851.

6. Lillian Janet, who, on the 2nd of August, 1876, married Francis, Viscount Tarbat, born 3rd of August, 1852, second son of the Duke of Sutherland, and heir to the Duchess in the Cromartie estates and titles, with issue.

7. Alexandrina Victoria, a god-daughter of Her Majesty the Queen.

Two other daughters died in infancy.

His Lordship died on the 25th of July, 1863, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXIX. SIR SOMERLED JAMES BRUDENELL,

Twentieth baron, thirteenth baronet, and fifth Lord Macdonald of Sleat. He was born on the 2nd of October, 1849, and died unmarried, on the 25th of December, 1874, when he was succeeded by his next and only surviving brother,

XXX. SIR RONALD ARCHIBALD BOSVILLE,

Twenty-first baron, fourteenth baronet, and sixth and present Lord Macdonald of Sleat. He was born on the 9th of June, 1853, and married, on the 1st of October, 1875, Louisa Jane Hamilton, second daughter of Colonel George William Holmes Ross of Cromarty, with issue—

1. Somerled Godfrey James, his heir, born 21st of July, 1876.

2. Godfrey Evan Hugh, born 1879.

3. Archibald Ronald Armadale, born 20th of May, 1880.

THE MACDONALDS OF BALRANALD.

THE Macdonalds of Balranald are descended from Donald Macdonald, known among the Highlanders as "Donald Herrach". He was a son of Hugh, first of Sleat (son of Alexander, third, and brother of John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles) by a daughter of Macleod of Harris.

I. DONALD HERRACH MACDONALD appears to have had possession of a great portion of North Uist, with a residence at Balranald. His natural brother, Gillespic Dubh, a desperate character, seems to have had designs upon the lands possessed by his brother Donald; whereupon he determined upon his destruction. From an old manuscript, in which Gillespic is described as of "a designing and ambitious disposition," we extract the following account of the means that he used to gain his object, and how he in consequence came to a violent end.

Being, as we have said, most anxious to obtain possession of his brother's lands in North Uist, he "contrived under some specious pretence to inveigle Donald Herrach to the neighbouring Dun of Loch Scolpeg, where he had made arrangements for his destruction. Gillespic and his associates being afraid of the personal strength of Donald Herrach, which, it is said, was uncommon even in those times, as 'his single blow left seldom work for two,' were consequently obliged to revert to stratagem and duplicity, even after they had their victim in their power. They proposed, after partaking of some refreshments, that they should pass some of their time in some gymnastic feats

(at which Donald was very expert), such as who should leap highest, they having previously contrived that one of the associates, named Paul, should place a thong, with a noose, through, or over, the wooden partition of the apartment in which they were assembled, and remain concealed on the opposite side, ready, when Donald would try the leap, to get the noose over his neck and strangle, or hold him, while Gillespic Dubh and the rest of his associates could, with more safety to themselves, finish him. This they did by running a red-hot spit through his body. Gillespic got the lands for the time, as also possession of Donald Herrach's eldest son, Ranald. The other son, Angus Fionn, escaped to his friends in Skye. Some time afterwards, Gillespic visiting his eldest brother, Donald Gallach, in Skye, they went where a boat or galley had been built for him, and wishing to have Gillespic's opinion of her, he observed that he thought there was something deficient under her bow. Donald stooping down to see it, Gillespic Dubh drew his dirk and stabbed him to the heart. He had now got possession, not only of the two estates, but also of the heirs of his brothers, whom he had murdered. Gillespic afterwards resided in Uist, and what is most singular is, that he should preserve the lives of his nephews, the rightful heirs to the property, and that he should educate them with care; but it was presumed that he was satisfied with acting as guardian, or, as it was then called, Tutor to the young men, and I do not believe he had any family of his own.

"These two young men, Donald Gruamach, son of Donald Gallach, and Ranald, son of Donald Herrach, grew up to manhood under the subjection of their unnatural uncle, but determining to take the first opportunity of ridding themselves of his thralldom and injustice, they resolved to quarrel with him at an early opportunity, which offering, as they were in quest of deer, by Donald Gruamach's letting slip his own dogs at the first deer they saw, at which Gillespic took offence, and challenged him for so doing. Donald retorting, said that he had a better

right to the deer than he had, and at the same time striking his uncle. Gillespic, calling Ranald, desired him to give him his sword as the fellow had hurt him. Donald said, 'Give it to him, Ranald as he deserves, and remember your father's death and my father's'; upon which Ranald drew the sword he carried for his uncle, and slew him with it on the spot. This took place on a small rising ground in the glen between North and South Lee in Uist (called Crock Gillespic Dhuibh at Beallach-a-Skail), and Archibald is known to this day by the name of Gillespic dubh Bheallach-a-Skail. A servant who attended them at the time observed to Ranald, that he should strike a second blow, and that all would be clear before him, thereby intimating that by killing his cousin, Donald Gruamach, he would have the property. Ranald replied that he wished he had not done what he did. Upon the man's finding that his advice was not followed, he left them, and fled to Harris, where his descendants are at this day known by the name of Stalkers, or Macdonalds of the second blow.

"Paul, who assisted with the thong at the murder of Donald Herrach, obtained lands at Balmore, in North Uist, from Gillespic Dubh, but he occasionally resided for his better security at Dun Steingarry on Loch Paible at Balranald, he being in terror of his life, after the death of his patron, Gillespic Dubh, from Donald Herrach's sons, Ranald and Angus Fionn, the latter of whom came expressly from Skye for the purpose of revenging his father's death. He wounded Paul as he was endeavouring to gain the sanctuary of Kilmuir, and an end was put to his life by a blind man that followed Angus Fionn, on hearing of the pursuit, but in a manner too savage to be mentioned. There are some of Paul's descendants at present in Benbecula. Of Angus Fionn were descended the Macdonalds of Trumisgarry. He generally resided at Dun Angus, at Orinsay.

"Ranald Mac Dhoil Herrach went afterwards to Ireland, where he distinguished himself in the wars carried on in

the northern provinces of that country by the Antrim family, at that time very powerful. Being severely wounded, he returned to his native country accompanied by a medical attendant of the house of Maclean, whose posterity were settled afterwards at Cuidrach, in Skye, and of whom is descended Sir Lachlan Maclean of Sudbury.

“Ranald lived afterwards at Griminish, and frequently visited his cousin and chieftain, Donald Gruamach, who resided on his estate in Skye. On one occasion he found, on his going to Dunskaich in Sleat, that a party of the tribe of Clanranald were there, revelling without control, they presuming on the protection of their kinswoman, a daughter of Clanranald, the wife of their host, Donald Gruamach (who was himself of an indolent, passive disposition). Ranald, despising the pusillanimity of his relation, seized on twelve of them early one morning, and hung them up to the walls of the castle in front of the lady’s window, and going immediately to his friend told him that he was just setting off for Uist. He was requested to remain and partake of some breakfast previous to his departure. Ranald replied that he was afraid when the lady would look out of her window, the sight she would see would not incline her to thank him for his morning’s work, and he immediately departed. It is supposed that she afterwards instigated Black Finnon Mackinnon to murder Ranald, which took place some time thereafter at a spot marked by a cairn on Druimard in Balmore, as he was on his way to pass the New Year with Donald Gruamach at Kirkibost, who had sent Finnon to Griminish for Ranald on New Year’s day, and on coming to Druimard, Mackinnon produced Donald Gruamach’s dirk (which he had stolen for the purpose) as a token that it was Donald Gruamach’s orders that Ranald should be killed by the people, which was done accordingly.”

The murder of Donald Herrach, in the cruel manner here described, is corroborated by the New Statistical Account of the Parish of North Uist, where it is related, in addition to what has been said, that “Paul, at the moment Donald’s head was within the loop, drew the

thong with savage determination, and strangled him. From this circumstance he was called *Paul na h-Eille*, or Paul of the Thong. His life was short. Revenge, which in barbarous ages, takes a summary mode of inflicting punishment, soon overtook him. In a few weeks thereafter, while Paul was building a stack of corn, from the top of it he observed, at some distance, a person of large stature rapidly moving towards the place. He hastily asked those around him from what airt the wind had blown the day before? On being informed it was from the east, and a leading wind from Skye, he exclaimed, the person at a distance must be Angus, commonly called *Aonas Fionn*, or *Fair*, son of Donald Herrach, who possessed some part of Troternish in Skye, and that it was time for him to look to his own safety. At full speed he fled to the Church sanctuary at Kilmuir, a distance of about three miles. Angus saw him at a distance, and, following him with still greater speed, just as he was crossing a small rivulet that bounded the sanctuary on the south side, bent his unerring bow, and the arrow pierced Paul in the heel. He fell; his legs in the water and the rest of his body on the land within the sanctuary, which to this day is called *Lhead Phoil*, or Paul's Field. This field forms part of the glebe of the parish. It is immediately adjoining the church, and the scene is pointed out about 100 yards from it. A blind man, a *Comh-alt* (foster-brother) of Donald Herrach, is said to have taken a brutal and indescribable revenge on Paul, which put an end to his lingering life. The memory of *Paul na h-Eille* is still held in universal detestation, while the descendants of Donald Herrach have since his time possessed and still possess large farms in North Uist. Loch Scolpeg, in which is, or rather was, the dun, where Donald Herrach was so barbarously sacrificed to the evil passion of avarice, was some years ago drained by a gentleman living in its immediate neighbourhood; and on the site of the dun he has erected a small octagonal building." This erection the present writer saw still standing while on a recent visit to North Uist.

II. RANALD MACDONALD, son of Donald Herrach, described as of Griminish and Balranald, was succeeded by his son,

III. ANGUS MACDONALD of Griminish and Balishear, who was succeeded by his son,

IV. HUGH MACDONALD of Griminish, succeeded by his son,

V. JOHN MACDONALD of Griminish, succeeded by his son,

VI. DONALD MACDONALD of Knocknantoirean and Balranald. We are unable to procure trustworthy data regarding the wives of the preceding heads of this family, but there is no doubt that they succeeded each other from father to son in legitimate succession. Donald Macdonald was succeeded by his son,

VII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, of Kirkibost and Balranald, who married, first, Jessie, daughter of John, son of Sir Donald Macdonald, Bart., of Sleat (Donald Gorm Og) with issue an only son, Donald, who succeeded him. He married, secondly, a daughter of the Rev. Donald Macleod, minister of Harris, with issue—several sons, of whom the Macdonalds of Peniniurein and Springfield; and a daughter, who married the Rev. John Macaulay, minister of South Uist, with issue.

Alexander was succeeded by his only son by the first marriage,

VIII. DONALD MACDONALD of Balranald, who married Catharine, daughter of Captain James Macdonald of Aird,* by his wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, with issue,

1. Alexander, his heir.

2. James (afterwards a Major in the army), who married

* This James Macdonald of Aird, was a son of William the Tutor (third son of Sir Donald Macdonald, third baronet of Sleat, by his wife Lady Mary Douglas, second daughter of Robert, third Earl of Morton), by his wife Catharine, daughter of the famous Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel. Through the marriage into the Kinloch-Moidart family, as stated in the text, it is said that the Macdonalds of Balranald were the nearest heirs to Kinloch-Moidart, but that the late Colonel Macdonald entailed the property on his mother's relatives, otherwise it would have gone rightfully to the family of Balranald, in virtue of the above-named marriage.

Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Owen, a banker in Tiverton, with issue—nine sons, three of whom attained distinction in the Army, and all of whom died unmarried. He had also one daughter, who died in infancy. Donald had also two daughters, Jessie and Catharine, both of whom died unmarried.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, designated of Lyndale. He was a captain in the Bengal Artillery, from which he retired in consequence of ill health. He afterwards raised, and became Lieutenant-Colonel of, the 2nd Isle of Skye Regiment of Volunteers, numbering 510 men, most of whom, when the Militia were disbanded, joined the Glengarry Fencibles, or Caledonian Rangers.

He married Jane Craigdallie, a lady belonging to an ancient Perthshire family, whose original name was Macgregor,* with issue—

1. Donald, who died at the Cape of Good Hope, unmarried.

2. James Thomas, of Balranald, who succeeded his father.

3. Alexander, a captain in the 16th Bengal Native Infantry, who died in India, unmarried.

4. John Robertson, who served in the 38th, 39th, and 16th Regiments, successively. He afterwards lived at the Rodil in Harris, and married Mary, daughter of Captain MacRae of the Inverinate family, with issue—one daughter, now residing with her mother at Dunvegan, Isle of Skye.

5. Elizabeth Anne, who died unmarried.

6. Caroline, who died young.

7. Alexandrina Catherine, who married Andrew Cornfute, a manufacturer in Perth, with issue—all of whom died without issue.

* The name of Macgregor was changed into that of Craigdallie, under the following circumstances. The ancestor of this lady joined the Chevalier in 1715, and after Sheriffmuir he, with his servant, when pursued by the government troops took shelter under a rock, called Craigdallie, in the Carse of Gowrie, and the name of the family was afterwards changed from Macgregor to Craigdallie. This gentleman's wife was Ann Don, a lady from Fife, belonging to the Newton Don family, now represented by Sir John Wauchope, Bart. of Edmonston.

8. Isabella Maria, who married the Rev. Finlay MacRae, minister of North Uist, with issue—six sons and one daughter—viz. (1) Donald, who married Annabella, daughter of Captain Miller of Pow, Perthshire, with issue ; (2) Alexander, a doctor in the army. He married Miss Maclean, Rochester, with issue, and died on his return from India ; (3) Duncan, who married in Australia, with issue ; and died there ; (4) John Alexander, minister of North Uist ; (5) James Andrew, Major, Inverness-shire Militia ; died unmarried ; (6) Godfrey Alexander, a medical practitioner, North Uist ; (7) Jane Anne Elizabeth, who married Edward William Hawes, R.N., with issue—three daughters.

He was succeeded by his second son,

X. JAMES THOMAS MACDONALD of Balranald, who married Jane, daughter of Captain Donald Mackenzie, fourth son of Thomas Mackenzie, VI. of Applecross, and IV. of Highfield, by his wife, Elizabeth, only daughter of Donald Mackenzie, V. of Kilcoy, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir, now of Balranald.

2. Anne Margaret, who married Charles Shaw, W.S., late Sheriff Substitute of Lochmaddy, with issue—(1) Duncan, a W.S. ; (2) James Thomas, a captain in the Inverness-shire Militia ; (3) Charles, married Mary Hastie in New Zealand, with issue ; (4) Alexander ; (5) Anne, married Capt. D. Cameron, Glenbrittle, Skye, with issue ; (6) Jane ; (7) Margaret Susan Christina ; (8) Elizabeth Anne Macdonald ; (9) Alexandra ; (10) Maggie, who died in 1879.

3. Elizabeth Flora Anne, who married the Rev. Neil Mackinnon, minister of Creich, Sutherland-shire, with issue—(1) Farquhar ; (2) James Thomas ; (3) Catharine, who married Jas. Ross Balblair, with issue ; (4) Jane ; (5) Jemima ; (6) Christina.

4. Jessie Catharine, who married Donald Macdonald, now in Australia, with issue.

5. Jane, who married Captain Donald C. Cameron, Talisker, with issue—(1) Ewen ; (2) James Thomas ; (3) Donald ; (4) Mary ; (5) Jeanie.

6. Jamima Isabella (died in 1874), who married Kenneth Macleod, M.D., Calcutta, with issue—(1) Julia ; (2) Jeanie ; (3) Alice Maud.

James Thomas was succeeded by his only son,

XI. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, now of Balranald, and of Edenwood in the County of Fife. He married, first, Margaret Anne Christina (died 1864), daughter of Norman MacLeod, Scalpa, and his wife Jessie, daughter of Mr. MacLeod, Ebst, Isle of Skye, without issue. He married, secondly, Margaret Campbell, daughter of the late Major Colin Lyon-Mackenzie of St. Martins, for many years Provost of Inverness, with issue—

1. James Alexander Ranald, his heir.
2. Annie ; 3. Jeannie Alexandra ; 4. Margaret Jamima.

THE MACDONALDS OF KINGSBURGH.

THE first of this family was James Macdonald, second son of Donald Gruamach Macdonald, fourth baron of Sleat, and brother of Donald Gorm of Sleat, who claimed the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of the Isles, and was killed by the Mackenzies in 1539, at Eilean Donain Castle in Kintail.

I. JAMES MACDONALD, first of Kingsburgh, lived in very turbulent times, and took a prominent part in the various disputes between the family of Sleat and the Macleods, during the reigns of James V. and Queen Mary. He was tutor-in-law for his nephew, Donald, sixth baron of Sleat, during his minority and "acquitted himself with fidelity and honour". He married a daughter of Macleod of Harris, by whom he had issue,

1. John, his heir,
2. Donald.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. JOHN MACDONALD. About the year 1578 this "John, son and heir of James Macdonald Gruamach (*i.e.*, James son of Donald the Grim, fourth of Sleat), of Castle Camus, in Sleat," who was kept prisoner in the Castle of Inchconnell, Lochawe, made complaint against the Earl of Aygyll for oppressive and illegal conduct in detaining him prisoner. He was killed about 1585, in Mull, during a desperate engagement, already described (pp. 192-195).

He married a daughter of Macdonald of Knoydart, with issue, an only son,

III. DONALD MACDONALD, a distinguished warrior,

commonly known as "Domhnall Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais". The manner in which he secured Uistean Mac Ghillespic Chleirich for planning the assassination of his uncle and chief, Donald Gorm Mor, and depriving him of his property, has already been described, (pp. 189-192). He was a man of unsurpassed courage and enormous bodily strength; and he commanded the Macdonalds of Skye in three set battles against the Macleods and Macleans. In each case he came off victorious, against much larger forces than his own. In a quarrel which took place between Donald Gorm Mor Macdonald of Sleat, and Rory Mor Macleod of Dunvegan, Donald took a very prominent and distinguished share. Macleod invaded the district of Troternish with fire and sword. Macdonald retaliated by sending a force to invade Macleod's lands in Harris, killing many of the inhabitants, and carrying away a great booty of cattle: Macleod sent a body of forty able-bodied warriors to spoil and lay waste the Island of North Uist, then the property of Macdonald, and, according to Sir Robert Gordon, took "a prey of goods out of the precincts of the Church of Killtrynad, wher the people had put all ther goods and cattle as in a Sanctuarie". Here they were encountered by Donald Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais of Kingsburgh, at the head of twelve men who fought so valiantly, that they not only rescued the cattle and goods but killed Donald *Glas*, the leader of the Macleods, with nearly the whole of his followers. The late Alexander Cameron gives the following version of this and other raids in which Donald was the leading spirit:—The local tradition of the battle narrates that it was the Macleods, after having succeeded in raising the *creach* of the Island, that had gathered their booty into the church, or monastery of the Trinity at Carinish, and that they were feasting there on some of the plunder, when Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais arrived with his twelve warriors, who fought with their bows and arrows and swords with such effect, that only two of the Macleods escaped to convey the news of their discomfiture to their chief, who was with his galleys at Port-na-long. Donald Mac Iain Mhic

Sheumais received a severe arrow wound in the action, from which he, however, soon recovered, and continued to distinguish himself as a warrior. The leader of the Macleods was slain by a Macdougall named Donald *Mor Mac Neil Mhic Iain*, at the Sands named from that circumstance, *Oitir Mhic-Dhomhnuil Ghlais*. The slain of the party were buried at the scene of the action, known as *Feithe-na-fola*, or the morass of blood, and their skulls were placed in the windows of the church of the Trinity, where they were to be seen up to a recent date. Rory Mor, seeing the bad success of his clansmen, and suspecting that there were greater forces in the Island, retired home, intending to return shortly with greater forces to avenge his loss.

In about three weeks, Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais was sufficiently recovered to proceed to Skye, to report the affair at Carinish personally to his chief, Donald Gorm Mor. He accordingly set sail in his galley with a befitting retinue, but when about half-way across the Minch, which separates North Uist and the other islands of the outer Hebrides from Skye, a violent snow-storm, with contrary wind arose, so that Donald was driven back, and had no recourse but to make for Rodil, in Harris, one of the seats of his enemy, Rory Mor. It was dark when Donald and his company landed, and their arrival was known to no one at Rodil with the exception of Macleod's page, Maccrimmon, a native of Skye, to whom Donald stood in the relation of *goistidh*, or godfather. Rory Mor, as usual, had a number of the gentlemen of his clan waiting on and feasting with him at Rodil House. The severity of the storm made the chief uneasy. He paced to and fro in his dining-hall, and, removing the panel from one of the apertures that served as windows, he peered into the darkness without, and, shuddered as the blast blew in through the window a shower of snow. Hastily closing the aperture, he exclaimed, "I would not refuse shelter to my greatest enemy, even Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais, on such a night". Maccrimmon immediately answered, "I take you at your

word, Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais is here". Rory Mor was rather taken aback by the unexpected announcement, but yielding to no man in hospitality, he at once requested that Donald and his company should be shown in. The Macdonalds entered, and after a formal salutation, were requested to sit down to dinner with their host and kinsmen. The long table groaned under its burden of beef, venison, and salmon. The Macleods were seated on one side, and the Macdonalds ranged themselves on the other side of the table, the duine-uasals of either clan being seated above, and the vassals below, the salt. Abundance of good old wine was quaffed, and as it took effect, the Macleods, who did not appear to relish the presence of the strangers, cast furtive glances across the table. At length the murmured and listless conversation was interrupted by the words, "Remember! this day three weeks was fought the battle of Carinish," spoken by one of the Macleods in a loud and emphatic tone. The chief gave a frowning look to the speaker, but that did not deter him from repeating the unfortunate words, which acted as a live spark on the combustible nature of the Macleods, and in an instant they displayed a score of daggers. A bloody scene would have inevitably followed had not the chief at once interfered, and with a voice of authority commanded his hasty clansmen to sheath their weapons, and not disgrace his hospitality and their own gallantry by such an ill-timed act. They at once obeyed, and he apologised to Donald for his clansmen's rashness, and good humouredly enquired of him why he had unsheathed his sword. Donald replied that he did not mean to act on the offensive, but that if any of his men had been struck he intended to have secured first the highest bird in the air, "*an t-eun as airde tha 'san ealtuinn*". When the hour for retiring came, the Macdonalds were shown to an outer house to sleep, but Donald, as being of higher rank, was about being shown to a bed-room in the house, when he declined to go, preferring to accompany his men; which he did. They retired to rest, but had scarcely slept, when Maccrimmon came to the

door and called to Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais that there was now a fair wind for Skye. The Macdonalds at once got up, and finding that the gale had subsided and that the wind was favourable they embarked in their galley for Skye. They had scarcely reached the entrance of the bay of Rodil when, on looking back, they observed the dormitory they had left in flames, some of the Macleods having treacherously set it on fire, suspecting that the Macdonalds were within. The piper of the Macdonalds struck up the piobaireachd, "*Tha an dubhthuil air Macleod; i.e., the Macleods are disgraced,*" which galled the Macleods on perceiving that they were outwitted. The Macdonalds were soon borne by the breeze to their destination, Duntulm, in Troternish.

In the absence of Rory Mor in Argyll, seeking the aid and advice of the Earl of Argyll against the Macdonalds, in 1601, Donald Gorm Mor assembled his men and made an invasion of Macleod's lands, desiring to force on a battle. Alexander Macleod of Minginish, the brother of Rory Mor, collected all the fighting men of the Siol Tormod, and some of the Siol Torquil, and encamped by Ben Chullin. Next day they and the Macdonalds joined battle, "which continued all the day long, both contending for the victory with incredible obstinacy". The leader of the Macleods (who was cased in armour) together with Niel Mac Alister Roy, and thirty of the leading men of the Macleods were wounded and taken prisoners, and the Macdonalds succeeded in gaining the battle. John MacTormod, and Tormod MacTormod, two near kinsmen of Rory Mor, and several others of the Macleods, were slain. Donald Mac Iain Mhic Sheumais fought with great bravery in the action, under Donald Gorm Mor. The ravine where the battle was fought is hence named *Coire na creach*, or the ravine of the spoil. The Privy Council now interfered, and requested the chiefs to disband and quit Skye. Donald Gorm Mor was ordered to surrender himself to the Earl of Huntly, and Rory Mor to the Earl of Argyll, and were charged to remain with these noblemen under the pain of

treason, until the quarrel between them should be settled by the king and council. Through the mediation of Angus Macdonald of Kintyre, the Laird of Coll, and other friends, a reconciliation was effected between them, upon which Donald Gorm Mor delivered up to Rory Mor the prisoners taken at Ben Chullin, after which they refrained from open hostility, though they had actions of law against each other. On the reconciliation being effected, Donald Gorm Mor was invited by Rory Mor to a banquet in Dunvegan Castle. When Donald Gorm appeared in sight of the Castle he was met by Macleod's splendid piper, Donald Mor Maccrimmon, who welcomed the chief of the Macdonalds by playing "The Macdonald's Salute," which *piobaireachd* he composed for the occasion. It was at the same banquet that he composed "*Failte nan Leodach*".* Donald Mac Ian 'ic Sheumais is said to have been the first who ventured to drive Highland cattle from the Western Isles to the mainland and southern markets.

He married a daughter of Macdonald of Keppoch with issue (among several others, some of whom died young).

IV. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, a great loyalist. He joined Montrose and was engaged in all his battles. He was one of Sir Donald Macdonald's "five cousins," killed at Killiecrankie. He married a niece of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat, with issue,

V. DONALD MACDONALD, a distinguished soldier, who, with his father, joined Dundee at the Revolution, and fought afterwards at Sheriffmuir. He married Margaret, daughter of Donald Nicolson of Scorribreck, with issue,

VI. ALEXANDER MACDONALD. One of his contemporaries, Douglas, himself (connected with the Sleat family by marriage), informs us in the "Baronage" that he "was a man of great integrity, probity, and honour, and has been long one of the principal managers of his chief's affairs, having been first appointed into that station by old Sir Donald [who died in 1718], was continued by his son, young Sir Donald, by Sir

* History and Traditions of the Isle of Skye.

James, whose son, Sir Alexander, left him one of the Tutors to his sons—the late Sir James and the present Sir Alexander [who died in 1795]; and has always acquitted himself with great fidelity and an unspotted character. In 1746, having entertained the young Chevalier at his house in Skye, and assisted him in making his escape, he was apprehended by order of the Duke of Cumberland, and sent prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he remained, close confined, for about twelve months, and was at last liberated upon the general Act of Indemnity.” All the more important public incidents of his life are given in the Rev. Alexander Macgregor’s “Life of Flora Macdonald,” who became the wife of Donald’s son, Allan.

He married Florence, daughter of John Macdonald, second of Castleton, with issue—

1. Allan, his heir.

2. James of Knockow, factor for Sir Alexander Macdonald, eighth baronet of Sleat. He married a sister of Major Macleod of Balmeanach, with issue—three daughters; (1) Anne, who married Mr. Mackenzie, a joiner, by whom she had a large family, all of whom emigrated, with their parents to America, except a daughter, Margaret, who married Mr. Macdonald, schoolmaster and catechist, now residing at Lochbay, Barra; (2) Margaret; and (3) Flora, both of whom died unmarried.

3. Anne, who married, first, Ronald MacAlister, of the family of Loup, in Argyllshire, with issue—nine sons and five daughters. She married, secondly, Lauchlan Mackinnon of Corry, in Skye, without issue. Her children by Alexander MacAlister were (1) Donald, (2) Allan, both of whom died at Kingsburgh; (3) James, died at Cour; (4) Janet, died in infancy; (5) John, died in India, and left a sufficiently large sum of money to enable his father, Ranald MacAlister, to purchase the estate of Strath; (6) Charles, died in India; (7) Keith, who became a General in the Army and died at Torisdale, Argyllshire; (8) Norman, a Colonel, and Governor of Prince of Wales Island. He was lost in the ship *Ocean*; leaving two daughters, Frances

Byng, who married Angus MacAlister of Balnakill ; and Flora, who married Keith Macdonald of Inistrynich ; (9) MARGARET, who married DR. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, second son of Charles Mac Eachainn, outlawed for taking part in the rebellion of 1746, with issue—five sons and six daughters ; (a) John, (b) Ronald, both Captains in the H.E.I.C. Service ; (c) Alexander, a Lieutenant in the same Service, all three of whom died in India ; (d) Keith, a Lieutenant in the Indian Navy, who married Flora, daughter of Colonel Norman MacAlister, on which occasion he added Macalister to his own name of Macdonald to secure her property. By her he had one son and two daughters—Keith Norman, who died young ; Emily Birnie, who married Dr. Crichton, with issue—a son, Charles Norman, now in India ; Margaret Frances, who married Brownlow North, son of the great revivalist preacher of the same name ; (e) CHARLES MACDONALD, a Lieutenant in the Glengarry Fencibles, who married Anne, daughter of Captain Neil Macleod of Gesto, and died at Ord, in 1867, leaving a family of five sons and three daughters ; Alexander Macdonald, Ord, who married Maria Macdonell, of the Keppoch family, with issue—three sons (one of whom died young), and two daughters ; Lachlan Macdonald, now of Skaebost, Isle of Skye, who married Wilhelmina, daughter of the late John Mackenzie of Bengal, by whom he has a family of five sons and one daughter ; Keith, a doctor of medicine, now at Cupar, who married Miss Nisbett, Edinburgh, with issue—two sons ; Neil, now of Dunach, Argyllshire, who married Madeline, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Brown of the North of England, with issue—three sons ; Charles, now of Clayton, Fifeshire, who married Anne Mary, daughter of Thomas Williamson, Glasgow, with issue—two sons and two daughters ; Flora, who married Alexander Smith, the Poet, author of “A Summer in Skye,” with issue—a son and two daughters ; Isabella who married John Robertson of Grishernish, Isle of Skye, with issue—a family of four sons and seven daughters ; and Margaret, who married Godfrey Mackinnon of North Goon-

ambil, Australia, with issue—two sons and two daughters. (f) Isabella, daughter of Dr. Alexander, second son of Charles MacEachainn, married Captain Allan MacLellan of the Glengarry Fencibles, with issue—six sons (of whom four died without issue), and four daughters; Keith, now of Melfort, the eldest son alive, who married Jessie Macdonell of the family of Keppoch, with issue; Alister Macdonald, who married Bella Christian, daughter of Alexander MacRa of Hushinish, Harris; Charles, drowned on his way to India; Marcella, who married Horatio Maculloch, the famous landscape painter, without issue; Margaret; Flora; and Anne, all three married with issue, in Australia.

From Anne of Kingsburgh, in addition to those above given are descended, among hundreds of distinguished Military, Professional, and Scientific men, John H. A. Macdonald, late Solicitor-General for Scotland, and now Sheriff of Perthshire; Captain Allan Macdonald of Water-nish; Mrs. Brown, Linkwood; Mrs. Scott Moncrieff; the Rev. Donald MacKinnon, Sleat; Lachlan MacKinnon, of the "Melbourne Argus"; William MacKinnon, a distinguished M.D. in the Army, who, when quite a young man, was on Lord Clyde's staff in India, made a C.B., and is now Deputy Surgeon-General in the Army; the Rev. Roderick Morrison, Kintail; Keith Macalister, now of Glenbarr, Argyllshire; Alexander MacAlister, now of Strathaird, in Skye; and a great many others, all of whom we have traced step by step, but not being Macdonalds by name we cannot find the necessary space to show their descent and connexions in detail.

Alexander of Kingsburgh was liberated from the prison of Edinburgh on the 4th of July, 1717, having "got a whole year's safe lodging for affording that of one night". He became one of Sir James's Tutors, in which capacity he continued to act until Sir James came of age; when, in consideration of his long and faithful services to the family, he granted him an annuity of fifty pounds sterling a-year, for the remainder of his life. He died at the great

age of eighty-three, on the 13th of February, 1772, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. ALLAN MACDONALD, who on the 6th of November, 1750, married the celebrated Flora Macdonald of history. On the death of Old Kingsburgh, Allan and his famous wife took up their abode in Kingsburgh House. In 1773, they had the pleasure of entertaining Dr. Johnson and Boswell. This was the same house in which, under her guidance, Prince Charles slept for a night, on his memorable passage through the Isle of Skye from the Long Island. Allan became embarrassed in his business affairs in consequence of his father's connection with Prince Charles, and the neglect of Old Kingsburgh's affairs during his imprisonment in Edinburgh; so, he determined to emigrate with his wife and family to America. Soon after their arrival in North Carolina, in 1755, the American War of Independence broke out. Allan became a Captain in the newly raised 84th or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, then raised, and consisting of about 1500 Highland emigrants or their sons; and his wife, the famous Flora, remained in the camp, inspiring them with enthusiasm in the Royal Cause, until the troops commenced their march. Their five sons also took part in the war, as did also Major Alexander Macleod, who had quite recently married their eldest daughter, Anne. Allan took a distinguished part in the war, but he was taken prisoner and committed to the prison of Halifax, Virginia. Flora, in great distress of mind and means, determined to return to Scotland, at the earnest request of her husband, he promising to join her and her daughter Frances as soon as he obtained his liberty. Crossing the Atlantic, the ship in which she was coming home was attacked by a French privateer, and, during the action which followed, while all the other lady passengers went below for safety, Flora remained on deck encouraging the sailors by her voice and example, and assuring them of success. The enemy was soon overcome and beaten off, but the brave Flora was knocked down and had her arm broken in the scrimmage. She afterwards used to say that

she imperilled her life both in the cause of the Stuarts and the House of Hanover, and that she received little from either for her pains. On her arrival in the Highlands she went to reside with her brother at Milton, in Uist, and remained there until, on the Treaty of Peace at the conclusion of the American War, in 1783, her husband was liberated, and he returned to Scotland. They went back to live at Kingsburgh House, Allan enjoying a captain's half-pay, which, with the product of the farm, enabled them to live comfortably for the rest of their days. Flora died on the 5th of March, 1790, when her remains were shrouded in one of the sheets in which Prince Charles had lain in Kingsburgh House, while a fugitive in Skye, and which Flora had carried with her, through all her adventures in America, and brought back to Skye on her return. She was buried in the Kingsburgh family vault in the Churchyard of Kilmuir, where now stands a fine monument, erected by public subscription, to mark her last resting-place. For full particulars of her life, death, and funeral, we refer the reader to her History by the Rev. Alexander Macgregor in the "Celtic Magazine," and now about to be published in book form. Allan, her husband, survived her only for a few years. He died on the 20th of September, 1795, when he was buried by the side of his immortal wife; by whom he had a fine family of five sons and four daughters—

1. Charles, a Captain in the Queen's Rangers. At his funeral, Lord Macdonald, on seeing his body lowered into the grave, remarked, "There lies the most finished gentleman of my family and name". He married Isabella, daughter of Captain James Macdonald of Aird, Troternish, son of William Macdonald, Tutor of Sleat, without issue.

2. Alexander, an Officer in the Naval Service, lost at sea, unmarried. He went down in the "Ville de Paris," a French line of battle ship, taken after a severe fight; he and his brother, Ranald, having been put on board in command of the prize crew.

3. Ranald, a Captain of Marines, "of high professional character, and remarkable for the character of his appear-

ance". He was lost in the "Ville de Paris" with his brother, Alexander, unmarried.

4 James, a brave officer, who served with distinction in Tarlton's British Legion ; known in Skye as Captain James Macdonald of Flodigarry. He married Emily, daughter of James Macdonald of Skaebost, with issue, two sons and three daughters—(1) James Somerled Macdonald, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 45th Madras Native Infantry, who died in London, in January, 1842, unmarried. He was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery. (2) Allan Ranald, a Captain in the 4th Bengal Native Infantry, who married Miss Smith, daughter of General Smith, of the Bengal Army, with issue—a son and two daughters. The son, Reginald Somerled Macdonald, of the Colonial Office, died four years ago. He married a daughter of Sir William Grove, an English judge, with issue—two daughters, one of whom, remarkable for her great beauty, died young in Florence ; the other, Zeila Flora Macdonald, married Marshal Canrobert, of France, with issue—several children.

Of the three daughters of Captain James of Flodigarry, two, Flora and Charlotte, died young and unmarried ; the former in her father's house at Flodigarry, through an illness brought on by sleeping in damp sheets ; the latter, at the age of seventeen, while on a visit to her maternal aunt, the late Mrs. Alexander Mackenzie of Letterewe. Jessie, then only surviving daughter of Captain James Macdonald of Flodigarry, married Ninian Jeffrey, New Kelso, Lochcarron, with issue—eight sons and two daughters ; (1) Captain James (died in 1875), who married Mary Irwin, leaving issue—one daughter, who married Dixon Irwin, shipowner, Liverpool ; (2) Capt. George, of H.M. 32nd Light Infantry, whose career as a soldier was marked by the most reckless bravery. Before he was seventeen he held a Lieutenant's commission in Don Pedro's army in Portugal. The Portuguese war over, he was next found fighting under General Sir de Lacy Evans, and greatly distinguished himself at the battle of Venta Hill, on the 5th of May, 1836, when he had to be carried off the field with three bullets in his body. He sub-

sequently obtained a commission in the British army, and, after serving in the tropics, fought through the Sikh war of 1848-9; was present at the siege and storming of Mooltan, and at the closing battle of Goojerat. He married Annie, daughter of Colonel William Geddes, H.E.I.C.S., with issue—John Macdonald, in the 24th Regiment, and three daughters, one of whom, Flora Macdonald Wylde, died in infancy; Jessie, still unmarried; and Georgina Amelia, who married John Abernethy Rose, merchant, Kurrachee, India. Captain George Jeffrey died in China in 1868. (3) William John, stipendiary magistrate at Demerara, married Sophia, widow of the Rev. William Hamilton, Rector of the Episcopal Church at Leguan, Essiquibo, Demerara, with issue—two children, a boy and a girl; died in infancy; (4) Allan Ranald Macdonald, a well-known litterateur in London, who married, and has issue, one son, Allan Ninian Charles Macdonald; (5) Thomas Mackenzie, lost at sea, young and unmarried; (6) Alexander Lachlan, in Edinburgh, unmarried; (7) Ninian, and (8) John, both of whom died in infancy. The daughters were, Amelia Macdonald, who died unmarried in 1864; and Agnes Johanna, who married Ranald Livingstone, of Drimsynie, Argyleshire, with issue—Ranald J. Macdonald, Alexander William John, Emily Nina, Mary Frances, and Flora Charlotte Macdonald. Mr. Livingstone died on the 8th of October, 1871.

5. John, the last survivor of Flora Macdonald's distinguished sons, became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Clan Alpine Regiment, and Commandant of the Royal Edinburgh Artillery. He wrote extensively on military subjects, and was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society. He married, first, in India, Mrs Bogle, a widow, and daughter of General Salmon, with issue—two children, who died young. He married, secondly, Frances Maria, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, Bengal, with issue—seven sons and two daughters: (1) Robert, a Major in the Indian army, married, leaving issue—one son, Somerled, who died young; (2) John, a Captain in the Indian army, married, with

surviving issue—a son and a daughter ; (3) Allan, died young ; (4) William Pitt, a Major-General in the Indian army, twice married, with surviving issue—seven sons and six daughters, most of whom are married, with issue ; (5) Charles Edward, in the Indian Civil Service, married, with issue—a son and daughter, both married ; (6) James, a Captain in the Indian army, married, with issue—a son and daughter, both married ; (7) Reginald, Lieutenant, 17th Lancers, married Miss Morris, with issue—one daughter, unmarried ; (8) Flora Frances, who married Edward Wylde, of the Royal Navy, whom she survives—without issue ; she resides at Cheltenham, and is the only living grandchild of the famous Flora Macdonald. (9) Henrietta Louisa Lavinia, who married Benjamin Cuff Greenhill, of Knowle Hall, Somersetshire, with issue—three daughters, the eldest of whom, Lavinia, married Edward Amphlett, and died, leaving issue—a son and daughter. The second, Flora, married Thomas Hussey, and is left a widow, with a son and three daughters. The third, Clari, married, without issue.

Colonel John Macdonald died at Exeter, on the 16th of August, 1831, aged 72 years.

6. Anne, who married Major Alexander Macleod of Lochbay, Isle of Skye, and of Glendale, Moore County, U.S.A. He fought through the American War of Independence ; subsequently distinguished himself in the European wars, and rose to the rank of Major-General in the British army. His wife, Anne, daughter of Flora Macdonald, survived him, and died at the house of their daughter, Mary, at the village of Stein, Isle of Skye, in 1834. The issue of this marriage was ; (1) Norman, killed by Glengarry in a duel, after a quarrel at a Northern Meeting Ball at Inverness ; (2 and 3) sons, one of whom married in India ; (4) Flora, who married Mr. MacKay, Forres, with issue ; (5) Mary, who died a few years ago, unmarried, in Stein, Isle of Skye.

7. Frances or Fanny, who married Lieutenant Donald Macdonald of Cuidrach,* Isle of Skye, with issue.

* “Mrs. Major Alexander Macleod, daughter of Flora Macdonald, had a

8 and 9. A boy and girl, who died young of typhus fever, aged respectively eleven and thirteen years, at Killiegray, their father's residence when in America, on the borders of Richmond and Montgomery Counties. The present proprietor of the property on which they are buried has, much to his honour, fenced in the graves of these children, to preserve the spot sacred to Flora Macdonald's offspring.

daughter married to Mr. Macdonald of Cuidrach. A daughter named Janet, of said parents, was married to Major Alexander Macdonald of Monkstadt, in the parish of Kilmuir in Skye, and proprietor then of the small property of Courthill, parish of Lochcarron. Major Alexander Macdonald of Monkstadt, had two sons, Hugh and Alexander, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Alice. Hugh was tacksmen of Monkstadt, and was married to a daughter of Donald Macdonald of Tanera, afterwards of Kingsburgh, and was proprietor of Skaebost and Stein until sold. Said Hugh Macdonald of Monkstadt had a numerous family of sons and daughters; Alexander, Donald, John, Hugh, James, and daughters—Margaret Bosville, who married a Mr. Todd, proprietor of Underwood, Dumfriesshire, by whom she had a numerous family; Jessie Julia; Johanna, and Eliza. Almost all went to Australia. Alexander, eldest son of Major Macdonald of Monkstadt, was never married. He became insane when a young man by an operation performed on his ears for deafness, and lived principally with his brother Hugh, and was quite harmless. Elizabeth, daughter of Major Alexander Macdonald, was married to Captain Alexander Macleod of Borlin, but had no issue, and her sister Alice was married to Dr. Millar, of Stornoway, with issue. Mrs. Major Macleod had a daughter named Fanny, but I think she was never married."—*Rev. Alexander Macgregor, M.A.*

THE MACDONALDS OF CASTLETON.

THE first of the Macdonalds of Castleton was,
I. DONALD MACDONALD, second son of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat, by his wife, Janet, second daughter, by his first marriage, of Kenneth, created first Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, on the 19th of November, 1609, and sister to Colin Ruadh, and George, first and second Earls of Seaforth (creation 1623). Donald of Castleton took a distinguished part in the civil wars of the time in which he lived.

He married Margaret, daughter of John Cameron of Lochiel—father of the famous Sir Ewen Dubh, by whom he had issue—

1. John, his heir.

2. Mary, who married her cousin, Sir Donald Macdonald “A Chogaidh,” eleventh baron and fourth baronet of Sleat, (who died in 1718), with issue; and secondly, Alexander Macdonald, first of Boisdale, as his first wife, also with issue.

Donald was succeeded by his only son,

II. JOHN MACDONALD, second of Castleton. He fought at Killiecrankie, and married Mary Maclean of the family of Ardgour with issue—

1. Donald, his heir.

2. Roderick “Mac Ian,” of Camuscross, who married, first, Anne, daughter of John Macleod of Drynoch, commonly called “Ian Mac Dhomhnuill Ghlais,” from whom the Macdonalds of Tormore.

3. Margaret, who married, Sir James Macdonald (of Oronsay) sixth baronet of Sleat, as his second wife, with issue, John Macdonald, who died young, without issue.

4. Florence, who married Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh, the entertainer of Prince Charles in 1746, with issue—Allan, who married the famous Flora Macdonald, and others [see Family of KINGSBURGH].

5. Isabella, who married John Mackinnon of Kinloch, a cadet of the Mackinnons of Strath, with issue.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. DONALD MACDONALD of Castleton, a captain in one of the Independent Skye Companies in 1745. He afterwards joined the army and became a Colonel. It was he who wrote to President Forbes intimating the death of Sir Alexander Macdonald, seventh baronet of Sleat in 1746. After stating how the lady bore her afflictions "with that patience and resignation which becomes a christian, and a woman of prudence," he proceeds to say, "There is, my Lord, one particular in which she has ordered me to solícite your interest, at a time she is not in a condition to write to you; and that is in behalf of Mr. Macdonald of Kingsborrow, now a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. That gentleman has been a principal manager of the affairs of the family of Macdonald, for twenty-eight years, and did always discharge his trust with faithfulness and diligence. And, as by his long management, he is best acquainted with the affairs of the family, so there cannot be no greater service at present done her and her children, than that he should be set at liberty, and reinstated in his former office." He then points out, by her ladyship's request, the services rendered by her late lord in suppressing the rebellion, trusting that this will now "be remembered to his lady and children, and they would take the liberation of the gentleman in the Castle as an earnest of the regard of the government for her."

He married Isabella, daughter of William Macleod of Hamer, (author of a most curious book on Second Sight, under the designation of "Theophilus Insulanus,") with issue—an only son,

IV. JOHN MACDONALD of Castleton, Sheriff-substitute

of Skye, who married his cousin by his mother, Margaret, daughter of Macleod of Arnisdale, Glenelg, with issue—

1. Donald, who died in Skye, without issue.
2. Norman, who died in the West Indies, without issue.
3. Alexander, a Major in the army; died in the East Indies, without issue.
4. Magnus, died in the East Indies, without issue.
5. John, a Captain in the army, died at Skirinish in 1833, without issue.
6. William, a Captain in the army, died in the East Indies, without issue.
7. Flora of Skirinish, who died there unmarried.
8. Isabella, died unmarried.

The Sheriff died, at the great age of eighty-seven, on the 25th of December, 1826.

The direct male representation of Donald, third of Castleton, having thus entirely failed we must revert to his uncle,

RODERICK MAC IAN MACDONALD of Camuscross, second son of John Macdonald, second of Castleton. Roderick married, first, Anne, daughter of John Macleod of Drynoch, a cadet of the Macleods of Macleod, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. James Macdonald of Knock, who married Grace, daughter of Major Macdonald of Breakish, with issue—a son, who married Miss Mackay, Inverness.
3. Donald Macdonald, first of Tormore, Isle of Skye, who married Eliza Macfarlane of Garistock, with issue—Alexander Macdonald, second of Tormore, who married Isabella, daughter of Alexander Chisholm of Samalaman and Lochans, in Moydart, with issue; (1) Alexander, born 1831, died 1844; (2) Donald now of Tormore; (3) Malcolm Neil, for some time an Indigo Planter in India, now at Tormore; married Ethel, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Wright, with issue three sons—Donald, Somerled, and Malcolm. (4) John Macleod; (5) Eliza, who married Mr. Hutchins, Edinburgh, with issue; (6) Penelope, who

married Dr. Maclean, Uist, with issue—a daughter ; (6) Barbara Diana, who married a Mr. Oxley, with issue, and emigrated to America ; (8) Annabella, who married Mr. Oxley, brother to her sister's husband, with issue, who also emigrated to America ; and (9) Johanna, who married Dr. Campbell, Skye, with issue—one son. Donald, first of Tormore, died in 1799, and his son Alexander, second of Tormore, died in 1857.

Ruan Mac Ian was in many respects a most remarkable man, and a fine old Highland gentleman—one of the last links in the chain which connected the customs of the past with the altered habits and civilization of the present. His second wife, a Mrs. Macqueen, had a daughter by a previous marriage, who lived with her mother in Rory's house, after his second marriage ; and there does not appear to have been much love lost between him and this addition to his establishment at Camuscross. On a certain occasion he paid a visit to Armadale, and called on a namesake of his own, afterwards known as "Old Ord," to borrow seed potatoes. His friend asked how he left his wife, when he simply replied, "Dh' fhalbh i," or, she's away ; and being further questioned about the sad occurrence, he said, that he did not go to see himself, but he knew she was gone, "Dh' aithnich mi gun dh' fhalbh i air scread ni'c Cuinn". He delighted in great displays of hospitality at funerals, and judged the social position of those more immediately concerned by the quantity of spirits consumed, and the number of fights which took place on such occasions. When he heard of any more than usually desperate and sanguinary funeral fights, he would exclaim, "Yes, yes, that was to be looked for and expected. They came of respectable forbears." On the other hand, when he was informed that a funeral passed off quietly, he would say, "Yes, yes, that is just like the mean lot. What else could we expect from such a mean low-bred set of cads." On the occasion of the funeral of one of his sisters, he insisted that it must be celebrated by the bringing home of at least half-a-dozen dead bodies, as evidence of such an ample supply of whisky having been

supplied as became the liberality and dignity of his house. He had strong views on the impropriety of the common people being allowed to mix too freely with their betters, and several curious stories are related of how, even in his old age, he resented this impertinence. In his earlier days the national beverage was freely manufactured without any interference by the Board of Excise, but in his latter years, he was much concerned and annoyed to hear that an Excise officer, one of a class then looked upon in the Highlands as the natural enemies of society, was on his way to the Isle of Skye, and had indeed actually crossed the Kyle. Old Rory was at the time confined to his bed by some ailment, and being unable personally to give such a welcome as he desired to the stranger, he sent for a powerful vassal upon whom he could fully depend to carry out any orders given him, if sufficiently rewarded. The hero having arrived, he was ushered into Rory's presence, who, pointing to a garment hanging against the wall of his room, said, "Do you see that coat with the silver buttons?" "I do." "Well then, it shall be yours, if you go and meet the coming exciseman, set upon him, and give him such a pounding as will keep him from coming to molest us again." The order was soon carried into effect; the man returned to tell his patron that he had executed his commission to the full, and demanding his reward, which, after being cross-examined, he at once received; for Rory was highly delighted. The examiner proceeded in this strain. "Na phronn thu a' mionach beag aige?" "Did you crush his small bowels?" "I have"; to which Rory replied, "'S math sin," telling him to take the coat away with him as his well-earned reward, fully believing in his own mind that nothing more would be heard of the common enemy of Skyemen. Not very long after this, Rory in his walks met a man on the high-way, and asking him in the usual manner for his news, the way-farer informed him, among other things, that they were getting large catches of herring in Loch Eishort, and that an Excise officer was seen at Broadford, on his way through the Island. Rory became

startled, and conscience-stricken, for he was, like most Highlanders, somewhat credulous, and believing his old enemy had risen almost from the dead, he exclaimed, "'S math a bha fios aige fhein gu de dheanadh feum dha—a sheachd leor do scaddan ùr." Well did he know what would do him good—his seven fulls of fresh herrings; as if this would have cured him from the effects of the terrible pounding which otherwise must have proved fatal.

Roderick Mac Ian of Camuscross, was succeeded by his eldest son,

ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who married Jane, eldest daughter of the Hon. Captain John Johnstone of Stapleton, second son of James, second Earl of Hartfell, who was created Earl of Annandale in 1661. Alexander Macdonald was lost at sea in 1758. By his wife he had issue—

1. Donald, his heir.

2. Alexander, who married Anne Salterford, and had issue—an only son, Alexander John, who died in infancy.

3. Mary, who died young.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

DONALD MACDONALD, who married Johanna Manning, and died in 1804. By his wife he left issue—

1. James, his heir.

2. Donald, a Lieutenant in the 67th Regiment, who married Susan, daughter of Denis MacCarthy, and sister to his elder brother's wife, with issue—James; Donald of Desert; and Jane.

3. Johanna, who married George Gwynn.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. JAMES MACDONALD, who, upon failure of the elder branch, became the representative of the family of Castleton; he was also one of the Claimants for the Annandale Peerage, through his grandmother, Jane, daughter of the Hon. Captain John Johnstone of Stapleton. He married Catharine, daughter of Denis MacCarthy of Kilcoleman, with issue,

1. Donald, who died, unmarried, in 1856.

2. James Alexander, a Wesleyan minister in England.

3. John Dennis, M.D., F.R.S., Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets, R.N., who was born in 1826, and married first, Sarah Phebe, daughter of Ely Walker of Stainland, with issue—James Alexander Walker, who died in infancy; John Dennis; William Richard; Elyna Mary; and Catherine Janet. He married, secondly, Erina Christiana Cunningham, daughter of the Rev. William Archer, M.A., of Wicklow, without issue.

4. Jane Masters, who married William Richard Rogers, M.D., with issue.

James Macdonald died in 1865, when the male representation of the family of Castleton, devolved upon his son,

VI. THE REV. JAMES ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who also succeeds his father as Claimant to the Annandale Peerage. He married Harriet, daughter of Edward William Mackie, with issue—

1. Rev. James Alexander Donald John, born in 1855.
2. Edward William Johnstone, born 1858.
3. Roderick John Johnstone, B.M. Edin., born 1859.
4. Somerlet Hector Norman, born 1861, died 1863.
5. Harriet Flora Macdonald.
6. Catherine Amelia Macdonald.

THE MACDONALDS OF VALLAY.

THE progenitor of the Macdonalds of Vallay, was WILLIAM MACDONALD, son of Sir Donald Macdonald, third baronet of Sleat, better known as "Tutor of Macdonald". We have already seen (pp. 232-234) how he obtained the farm of Aird, near Duntulm in Skye, free for life, and a perpetual feu of the Island of Vallay, in North Uist, for one shilling a year, in return for his services to the family of Sleat, during the forfeiture, after 1715. He was at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and, with his brother James, commanded the Macdonalds of Sleat, who opened the battle. *Sileas nighean Mhic Raonuill*, the Gaelic poet, refers to him in her description of the battle as follows :—

Beir soraidh gu Domhnull o'n Dun,
Gu Uilleam 's gu Seumas nan triuir.

By his wife, Catharine, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, he had a numerous issue, among whom were Captain James Macdonald of Aird, Troternish, Isle of Skye, and Captain John Macdonald of Kirkibost, North Uist, each of whom led a company of 100 men to Inverness, in 1745, against Prince Charles. Captain James, married Miss Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, and by her had one son and three daughters. The son went to Australia, where he, with his wife, was drowned while crossing a river. Of the daughters, Catherine married Donald Macdonald, VIII. of Balranald, with issue; Isabella, married Captain Charles, eldest son of Allan Macdonald of Kingsburgh and his wife Flora Macdonald, without issue. The third, Mary, died unmarried. The Tutor had also

two daughters, the eldest of whom, Flora, was married, with issue; the second, Margaret, died unmarried. The eldest son,

I. EWEN MACDONALD, became first of Vallay, was a fine Highland gentleman, a composer of Highland *piobair-eachds*, and an excellent performer on the national instrument, the great Highland bag-pipes (see p. 241.) He married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Lachlan Maclean of Coll. On the old house at Vallay, the initials of the pair were carved thus "E.M.D. & M.M.L. 1742." By this lady he had issue,

II. WILLIAM MACDONALD, second of Vallay, who married his cousin, Mary, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, first of Boisdale, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir and successor.

2. Ewen Macdonald of Griminish, who married Miss Bruce, a governess at Vallay, with issue—Ewen; William; Harriet, who married Major Oakes, H.E.I.C.S., with issue; and Mary, who married General Tod, H.E.I.C.S., with issue.

3. Mary, who married the Rev. Allan Macqueen, minister of North Uist, with issue—a son and daughter. The son was in the army, and died abroad. The daughter died unmarried.

4. Susan, who married the Rev. James Macqueen, also minister of North Uist, with issue—(1) William, who became minister of the quod sacra Church of Trumisgarry, and married Miss Macleod, Feorleg, Isle of Skye, without issue; (2) Alexander, an officer in the *Macqueen* East Indiaman. He died, unmarried, in England; (3) Alice, who married Captain Alexander Maclean, Hosta, of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, with issue—several sons and daughters.

5. Margaret, who first married Captain MacKinnon, without issue. She married secondly, Captain Martin of the Merchant Service, with issue—an only daughter, Mary, who still survives in North Uist. Captain Martin died while his daughter was yet an infant.

6. Janet, who married John Macdonald, Malaglet, without issue; and,

7. Catherine, who died unmarried.

William was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, third of Vallay, a Major in the army, who married his cousin, Harriet, daughter of Colin Macdonald, second of Boisdale, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir, who entered the Royal Navy.

2. Margaret, who married Neil Maclean, C.E., Inverness, without issue.

3. Mary, who died unmarried, at Inverness.

4. Isabella, who married the Rev. Neil Maclean, Minister of Tiree, with issue—two sons and four daughters—(1) Donald, a Doctor of Medicine, who married Jane Cameron of Glen Nevis, without issue; (2) Alexander, who went to Australia; (3) Liliast Margaret, who married Mr. Mitchell of Woodlands, Stirling, and died, without issue, in 1877; (4) Mary Flora, who died young; (5) Isabella, who married Mr. Cameron of the Glen Nevis family, now a widow, residing in the Isle of Skye, with issue—two sons and five daughters. Her eldest daughter is married to William A. Macleod, Scorrybreck. (6) Harriet, residing at Bridge of Allan, unmarried.

Alexander, who died in Skye, was succeeded by his son,

IV. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, fourth of Vallay. He was born 14th of July, 1788; and married, on the 2nd Feby., 1826, Flora, daughter of Captain Duncan Macrae, of the Inverinate family, Royal York Rangers, with issue—

1. Alexander-Ewen, married with issue, in Australia.

2. William-John, Senator for Victoria, Vancouvers Island; married with issue—three sons and three daughters.

3. Duncan-Alexander-Macrae, unmarried, in Australia.

4. Colin-Hector, married, in Australia, with issue.

5. Duncan, unmarried, in Australia.

6. Christina-Mary, who married the Rev. J. W. Tolmie, Minister of Contin, with issue—four sons and four daughters.

7. Harriet-Margaret, who married Alexander A. Gregory, Inverness, with issue—four sons and four daughters.

8. Mary-Isabella, who married the Rev. Kenneth A. Mackenzie, Minister of Kingussie, with issue—two daughters.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENGARRY.

IT has been shown that the Macdonalds of Sleat (though the undoubted male representatives of John, last Lord of the Isles, as well as of Donald, first Earl of Ross of the name of Macdonald, eldest son of John, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of King Robert II. of Scotland), are not and cannot be the chiefs by right of blood of the whole Clan Donald and male representatives of Somerled, Thane of Argyll, while any of the representatives of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his *first* marriage with Amie MacRuari remains. This may now be accepted as a settled point, and one on which all unbiassed authorities are agreed.

It is, however, much more difficult to decide which of the other leading claimants are entitled to that high and distinguished honour.

There is the further difficulty to dispose of as to who is the present representative of the Old Earls of Ross, which title was unquestionably possessed by the Lords of the Isles since the marriage of Donald of Harlaw, second Lord of the Isles, to Lady Mary Leslie, daughter of Euphemia, Countess of Ross. The Earldom of Ross being in favour of heirs-general—a fact placed beyond question by the title having been first brought into the family of Macdonald by marriage with Lady Mary Leslie—it is now almost, if not quite, impossible to decide who the present representative of the ancient but long forfeited Earldom of Ross is. To have enabled this representation to pass into the family of Sleat, it was necessary not only that all

the direct male representatives of Alexander and John, third and last Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross of the race of Macdonald, should have died out, but the female representatives also. This is by no means a settled point. Indeed, if Gregory and other leading authorities be correct in holding that Celestine of Lochalsh was a legitimate son of Alexander third Earl and eldest brother of John last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, the representation of the Earldom must have passed into the family of Glengarry by the marriage of Margaret (eldest daughter of Alexander of Lochalsh and heiress to her brother, Sir Donald) to Alexander Macdonald, VI. of Glengarry; the other sister Janet, having married Dingwall of Kildun. This is a point which we do not feel called upon to decide. It may, however, be stated that the *male* representation of the old Earldom of Ross has been successfully claimed by Mr. Munro Ross of Pitcalnie, whose claim as heir-male has been sustained by the Court of Session and by the House of Lords. As already stated, however, the honours of the Earldom were not limited to the heirs-male; and, in point of fact, they were carried originally by a female to the family of Macdonald. The representation has also been claimed by the Frasers of Philorth, progenitors of Lord Saltoun, one of whom married Joanna, sister of Euphemia Leslie, Countess of Ross. Several other claimants might be named, but those already mentioned as heirs-general and heirs-male must be disposed of before any claims by later offshots are debateable.

It is necessary before proceeding further to refer to a claim made to the chiefship of the race of Somerled by the MacAlesters of Loup, a family of note in Argyllshire, now known as Somerville-MacAlesters of Loup and Kennox, the latter place having been acquired by marriage with an heiress, whose name of Somerville the MacAlesters have in consequence added to their own. They claim to be descended from Alexander, "eldest son of Angus Mor, Lord of the Isles and Kintyre A.D. 1284, and third in descent from Somerled, Thane of Argyll, the common

ancestor of the Clan Donald and Clan Dugall ; and therefore, according to the Highland principle of clanship, they possess that ‘jus sanguinus,’ of which no forfeiture could deprive them and are the representatives of the ancient Lords of the Isles, as heirs male of Donald, the grandson of Somerled, from whom came the Clan Donald.” In point of fact, however, Alexander, the progenitor of the MacAlesters, was not the “eldest son of Angus Mor,” but his younger brother, and uncle to “Angus Og” who fought with Bruce at the head of his clan at Bannockburn, and who, on the forfeiture of the MacAlesters for having taken the opposite side under Macdougall of Lorn, succeeded to the forfeited property, not as MacAlester’s “elder brother,” but as his nephew and chief of the clan, and as a reward in part for his loyal support of the saviour of his country, King Robert the Bruce. The MacAlesters have thus no valid claim to the chiefship of the great Clan Donald, but they are undoubtedly the senior cadets of the race.

John, first Lord of the Isles, married, *first* [see p. 69], Amie, heiress of the MacRuaries of Garmoran and Bute, and by her had three sons (and a daughter, Mary, who married, first Hector Maclean of Duart, and secondly, Maclean of Coll).

1. John, who died before his father, leaving one son, Angus, who died without issue.

2. Godfrey of Uist and Garmoran, whose name appears occasionally throughout the earlier chapters of this work, though really very little is known of his history or that of his descendants ; for scarcely any authentic records remain of the period of Highland history in which they flourished. Godfrey (who was also called Lord of Lochaber) received a charter under the style of Lord of Garmoran in 1388, dated at *his* castle of Ellantirim. We have already seen [p. 74], that his son Alexander of Garmoran, described as a leader of a thousand men, was beheaded at Inverness by order of King James during his visit to the Highland capital in 1427, when his whole possessions were forfeited to the crown. His only son, also named Alexander, died

in 1460. Macvurich, who records his death, describes him, like his father, as Lord of Uist. The lands of Uist and Garmoran, however, were forfeited, and, as we have already seen, were granted by John, Earl of Ross, to his brother, Hugh of Sleat; but the latter was kept out of possession by the Macdonalds of Clanranald, who, by precept, obtained a grant of the lands in Uist and Benbecula in the year 1505, [See p. 154]. "From this time," Gregory writes, "although there were several descendants of Godfrey still in existence, the tribe fell into decay." Skene says that while Godfrey appears to have for a time maintained his right to his mother's inheritance against the issue of the second marriage of his father, it "was soon extinguished by the failure of heirs-male".* The ground is now so far clear as to enable us to deal with Reginald, third and only remaining son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amie MacRuari of Garmoran, whose male issue, so far as can be traced, survives. We shall therefore designate him

VIII. REGINALD, OR RANALD,

Eighth chief of the race of Somerled, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Glengarry and of all the Macdonalds known as Clanranalds, or Clann Raonuil; *i.e.*, descendants of Ranald or Reginald. When the arrangement already described (pp. 56-58) was made on the marriage of the first Lord of the Isles with Margaret Stewart, Ranald received a large grant of lands, including the North Isles, Garmoran and other extensive possessions, to hold of his father John, Lord of the Isles, and his heirs of the second marriage, as a reward for falling in with the scheme, while his eldest brother, Godfrey, stoutly opposed it. This arrangement seemed more advantageous to Ranald as a younger son of the first marriage, the offspring of which had to fight for their possessions against the combined power of their father and of the ruling monarch in the interest of the sons of the second marriage. And Ranald proved himself

* Celtic Scotland, vol. iii., p. 295.

afterwards a man of great integrity and honour as tutor or guardian to his younger brother Donald, second Lord of the Isles, during his minority. He took a leading part in the government of the Isles during the life of his father, and was left in charge of the Lordship after his father's death, until Donald, the eldest son by the second marriage, became of age, when Ranald delivered over to him the government of the Lordship in presence of the leading vassals, very much against the wishes of the common people of the Isles, who still continued to look upon Godfrey, Ranald's eldest brother, as the rightful heir and head of the family.

We have now arrived at a stage where we can no longer avoid discussing the question of the chiefship of the whole clan. From what has been already said it must be clear to the impartial reader, that the chiefship by right of blood cannot be in the family of Sleat, while any legitimate male descendant of the issue of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his first wife, Amie MacRuari of Garmoran, survives. There remains, however, still staring us in the face, the other question, upon which so much ink and temper have been wasted. We sincerely wish we could pass it over, but that, in a work like this, is quite impossible. The question is a most difficult one. We have carefully perused the whole controversy which has taken place, sixty years ago, between the families of Glengarry and Clanranald, as well as the respective genealogies published by both claimants, and certain facts which have been proved appear to us, in the absence of further evidence, quite insurmountable.

Skene, undoubtedly one of the best living authorities on such a question, devotes considerable space to the discussion of the point, and he deals with it so clearly and concisely that we shall quote him at length. We may, however, point out that Skene is occasionally found tripping—and he does so in this very connection; for we find him confusing the famous Donald Balloch of Isla, son and successor to John Mor Tanistear (second son of the first

Lord of the Isles by Margaret Stewart), with Donald, first of the family of Glengarry. Discussing the question of the much contested chiefship of the race of Somerled and Conn, he sums up thus :—"While it is fully admitted that the family of Sleat are the undoubted representatives of the last Lord of the Isles, yet if the descendants of Donald, from whom the clan took its name, or even of John of the Isles in the reign of David II., are to be held as forming one clan, it is plain that, according to the Highland principles of clanship, the *jus sanguinis*, or right of blood to the chiefship, lay unquestionably in the male representative of John, whose own right was undoubted. John of the Isles had, by Amy, the daughter of Roderick of the Isles, three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, of whom the last only left descendants, and from whom the Clan Ranald unquestionably derive their origin. By the daughter of Robert II. John had four sons, Donald, Lord of the Isles, from whom came the Macdonalds of Sleat ; John Mor, from whom the Macdonalds of Kintyre ; Alaster, the progenitor of Keppoch ; and Angus.

"In this question, therefore, there are involved two subordinate questions which have given rise to considerable disputes. First, was Amy, the daughter of Roderic of the Isles, John's legitimate wife, and were the sons of that marriage John's legitimate heirs? And secondly, if the sons of the first marriage are legitimate, who is the Chief of the Clan Ranald, the only clan descended from that marriage? With regard to the first point, there are two documents which place it beyond all doubt that Amy was John's lawful wife. The first of these is a dispensation from the Pope in 1337 to John, son of Angus of the Isles, and Amy, daughter of Roderic of the Isles. The second is the treaty between John and David II. in 1369, in which the hostages are 'Donaldum filium meum ex filia domini senescali Scotiæ genitum Angusium filium quondam Johannis filii mei et Donaldum quemdam alium filium meum *naturalem*'. John had by Amy three sons, John, Godfrey, and Ranald, and the distinction made in the above passage between

John '*filius meus*,' and Donald *filius meus naturalis*, proves that this family were legitimate. But it is equally clear that the children of this marriage were considered as John's feudal heirs. When Robert II., in pursuance of the policy which he had adopted, persuaded John to make the children of the two marriages feudally independant of each other, it was effected in this manner. John received charters of certain of his lands containing a special destination to the heir of the marriage with the King's daughter, while he granted a charter of another portion of his lands, consisting of the lordship of Garmoran, part of Lochaber, and some of the Isles, among which was that of Uist, to Reginald, one of the children of the first marriage, to be held of John's lawful heirs, and this charter was confirmed by the king. That a special destination was necessary to convey part of John's possessions to the children of the second marriage is in itself a strong presumption that they were not his feudal heirs, and from the terms of Reginald's charter it is manifest that he must, on John's death, have held his lands of the person universally acknowledged to be the feudal heir of the Lord of the Isles. This person, however, was his brother Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, for in a charter to the Abbey of Inchaffray, dated 7th July, 1389, he designates himself '*Dominus de Uist*,' and dates his charter '*Apud Castrum meum de Ylantirum*,' both of which are included in Reginald's charter. Moreover it appears that he was succeeded in this by his son Alexander, for when James II. summoned a Parliament at Inverness, to which those only who held their lands in chief of the crown, were bound to attend, and when, from the state of the country at the time, it is apparent that no one would appear who could on any ground excuse his absence, we find among those who obeyed the summons, Alexander Maccreury de Garmoran. Maccreury and Macgorry, or son of Godfrey, held the lordship of Garmoran in chief of the crown. We find, however, that the rest of Reginald's lands were equally held of this Alexander, for Reginald's charter included a

considerable part of Lochaber, and in the year 1394 an indenture was entered into between the Earl of Moray and Alexander de Insulis dominus de Lochaber, for the protection of certain lands in Morayshire. We thus see that when it was intended that the eldest son of the second marriage should hold his lands of the crown, a special destination to him was requisite, that a charter of certain lands was given to Reginald to be held of John's feudal heirs, and that these very lands were held in chief of the crown by Godfrey, the eldest surviving son of the first marriage, and by his son Alexander. It is therefore plain that the actual effect of Robert the Second's policy was to divide the possessions of his formidable vassals into two distinct and independent feudal lordships, of which the *Dominium de Garmoran et Lochaber* was held by the eldest son of the first marriage, and the *Dominium Insularum* by the eldest son of the second marriage; and in this state they certainly remained until the fatal Parliament of 1427, when the Lord of Garmoran was beheaded and his estates forfeited to the crown.

"The policy of James I. induced him then to reverse the proceedings of his predecessor Robert, and he accordingly concentrated the Macdonald possessions in the person of the Lord of the Isles, but this arbitrary proceeding could not deprive the descendants of the first marriage of the feudal representation of the chiefs of the Clan Donald, which now, on the failure of the issue of Godfrey in the person of his son Alexander, unquestionably devolved on the feudal representative of Reginald, the youngest son of that marriage.

"Of the descent of the Clan Ranald there is no doubt whatever, nor has it ever been disputed that they derive their origin from this Reginald or Ranald, a son of John, Lord of the Isles, by Amy MacRory. Ranald obtained, as we have seen, from his father the lordship of Garmoran, which he held as vassal of his brother Godfrey, and these were the same territories which the Clan Ranald possessed, as appears from the Parliamentary Records in 1587, when

mention is made of the 'Clan Ranald of Knoydart, Moydart, and Glengarry'. There has, however, arisen considerable doubt which of the various families descended from Ranald anciently possessed the chiefship, and without entering in this place into an argument of any great length on the subject, we shall state shortly the conclusions to which we have been led after a rigid examination of that question.

"That the present family styling themselves 'of Clanranald' were not the ancient chiefs there can be no doubt, as it is now a matter of evidence that they are descended from a *bastard* son of a second son of the old family of Moydart, who assumed the title of Captain of Clanranald in 1531, and as long as the descendants of the elder brother remain, they can have no claim by right of blood. The point we are to examine is, who was the chief previous to that assumption ?

"Ranald had five sons, of whom three only left issue, viz., Donald, from whom descended the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, Allan, the ancestor of the family of Moydart, and Angus, from whom came the family of Moror. That the descendants of Angus were the youngest branch, and could have no claim to the chiefship, has never been disputed, and the question accordingly lies between the descendants of Donald and Allan. The seniority of Donald, however, is distinctly proved by the fact that on the extinction of the family of Moror, the family of Moydart succeeded legally to that property ; consequently by the law of Scotland they must have been descended from a younger son than the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, and it follows of necessity that the latter family must have been that of the chief.

"Donald had three sons, John, Alaster, and Angus. On the forfeiture of Alexander Macgorry of Garmoran in 1427, that part of Lochaber possessed by him was granted to the Earl of Mar, while all those lands held of him by the Clan Ranald remained in the crown, and consequently the chief of Clan Ranald must have held them as crown

vassal.* Accordingly we find John, the eldest son of Donald, holding his lands of the crown, as appears from a gift of the non-entries of Knoydart to Cameron since the decease of Umq^{bl}. John MacRanald,† and this sufficiently indicates his position at the head of the clan, as, if he had not been chief, he would have held his lands of the Moydart family. John appears by another charter to have died in 1467, and in 1476 the lands of Garmoran were included in a crown charter to John, Lord of the Isles. The Lords of the Isles had invariably manifested the most inveterate hostility to the rival family of Garmoran and their supporters. On the acquisition of Lochaber by Alexander, Lord of the Isles, after his release from prison, this animosity displayed itself in the proscription of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, MacMartins of Letterfinlay, and others who were always faithful adherents of the patriarchal chief of the clan. The same animosity was now directed against the Chief of Clan Ranald; his lands of Knoydart appear to have been given to Lochiel, the lands of South Moror, Arisaig, and many of the isles, were bestowed on Hugh of Slait, the brother of the Lord of the Isles, and in this way the principal branch of the Clan Ranald was reduced to a state of depression from which it did not soon recover. To this proscription there was but one exception, viz., the family of Moydart, who alone retained their possessions, and, in consequence, on the forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, they did not hesitate to avail themselves of their situation, and place themselves at the head of the clan, a proceeding to which the representative of the ancient chiefs was not in a situation to

* Not only did the Chief of Clan Ranald hold these lands of the crown, as he had previously held them of Alexander MacGorry, but it actually appears that the Lord of the Isles was his vassal in some of them, for Alexander, Lord of the Isles, grants a charter to the ancestor of the Macneils, dated in 1427, of the Island of Barra, and of the lands of Boisdale in the Island of Uist, both of which islands are included in Reginald's charter, and one of which was, as we have seen, certainly held in chief of the Crown by the heir of the *first* marriage.

† That this John MacRanald was John, the eldest son of Donald, appears from two facts; first, his lands adjoin those of Alaster, the second son, and are separated by them from those of the other branches of the clan. Second, on the failure of his descendants, the descendants of Alaster succeeded to them.

offer any resistance. This was principally effected by John, surnamed Mudortach, a bastard son of the brother of the Laird of Moydart ; but the character of the usurpation is sufficiently marked by the title of *Captain* of Clan Ranald, which alone he assumed, and which his descendants retained until the latter part of the last century, when the Highland title of Captain of Clan Ranald was most improperly converted into the feudal one of Macdonald of Clan Ranald. At the forfeiture of the Lords of the Isles, the family of Knoydart and Glengarry consisted of two branches termed respectively 'of Knoydart,' and 'of Glengarry,' of which the former was the senior ; and while the senior branch never recovered from the depressed state to which they had been reduced, the latter obtained a great accession of territory, and rose at once to considerable power by a fortunate marriage with the heiress of the Macdonalds of Lochalsh. During the existence of the senior branch, the latter acknowledged its head as their chief, but on their extinction which occurred soon after the usurpation by the family of Moydart, the Glengarry branch succeeded to their possessions, and as representing Donald, the eldest son of Ranald, the founder of the clan, loudly asserted their right to the chiefship, which they have ever since maintained.

"As the Moydart family were unwilling to resign the position which they had acquired, this produced a division of the clan into two factions, but the right of the descendants of Donald is strongly evinced by the above fact of the junior branch acknowledging a chief during the existence of the senior, and only maintaining their right to that station on its extinction, and by the acknowledgment of the chiefship of the Glengarry family constantly made by the Macdonalds of Keppoch and other branches of the clan, who had invariably followed the patriarchal chiefs in preference to the rival family of the Lords of the Isles.

"These few facts, which are necessarily given but very concisely, are, however, sufficient to warrant us in concluding that Donald, the progenitor of the family of Glengarry,

was Ranald's eldest son ; that from John, Donald's eldest son, proceeded the senior branch of this family, who were chiefs of Clan Ranald ; that they were from circumstances, but principally in consequence of the grant of Garmoran to the Lord of the Isles, so completely reduced that the oldest cadet, as usual in such cases, obtained the actual chiefship, with the title of captain, while on the extinction of this branch, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the family of Glengarry, descended from Alaster, Donald's second son, became the legal representatives of Ranald, the common ancestor of the clan, and consequently possessed that right of blood to the chiefship of which no usurpation, however successful, could deprive them. The family of Glengarry have since then not only claimed the chiefship of the Clan Ranald, but likewise that of the whole Clan Donald, as undoubted representatives of Donald, the common ancestor of the clan ; and when the services rendered by the family to the house of Stuart were rewarded by a peerage from Charles II., Glengarry indicated his rights by assuming the title of Lord Macdonnell and Arros, which on the failure of male heirs of his body, did not descend to his successors, although his lands formed in consequence the barony of Macdonell."*

Reginald married a daughter of Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol, brother of King Robert II., and by her had issue—

1. Donald, immediate progenitor of the family of Glengarry.

2. Allan, first of the family of Clanranald, of whom hereafter.

3. John, known among the Highlanders as "Ian Dall," or Blind John, who possessed lands in the Island of Eigg, and from whom the Macdonalds of Bornish descended.

4. Angus.
5. Dugall.
6. A daughter Mora.

He is said to have died, a very old man, in 1419, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

* Highlanders of Scotland, vol. ii., pp. 96-106.

IX. DONALD MACRANALD,

Second of the line of Glengarry. Little or nothing is known of him, which may be accounted for from the fact stated by Gregory, namely, that on the death of Ranald, "his children, then young, were dispossessed by their uncle Godfrey, who assumed the title of Lord of Uist (which, with Garmoran, he actually possessed), but never questioned the claims of Donald to the Lordship of the Isles."* On the execution and forfeiture of Alexander, the son and successor of Godfrey, in 1427, at Inverness, the lands of Glengarry reverted to the crown, and were held as a royal forest, or appanage of Inverlochy Castle—then a royal residence. At the same time the Macdonalds of Glengarry were crown tenants, and they ultimately succeeded in obtaining a crown charter to the lands of which they were dispossessed by their feudal superior, Godfrey of Garmoran.

Donald married, first, Laleve, daughter of Macivor, and by her had one son,

1. John, his successor.

He married, secondly, "a daughter of Macimmie"† (Lovat), by whom he had—

2. Alastair; and 3, Angus Og.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. JOHN MACDONALD,

Third of Glengarry, who married a daughter of Macleod of Lewis, with issue—a son,

XI. ALASTAIR MACDONALD,

Fourth of Glengarry, from whom the family take their Gaelic patronymic of "Mac 'ic Alastair," and who is the first of the family of Glengarry whose name is found in the public records; and that only as the grandfather of his.

* Highlands and Isles, p. 31.

† MS. of 1450, printed in the *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

grandson mentioned in a commission of Lieutenancy by the crown in favour of Colin, Earl of Argyll, making him "*Locum tenentum omnium insularum tam australium quam borealium*," and of certain lands—among others, "*Alterius MOROR quam Alester Makcane MAKALESTER habet*," dated 8th of March, 1516;* that is, Alastair, son of John, son of Alastair, the last named being our present subject. The Moror here named is North Moror. On the 26th of February, 1517, he appears in an action in the Court of Session as "*Alexander Jhone MACALISTERIS sone in GLENGARRY*."† He is repeatedly mentioned later, as we shall see further on.

He married the only daughter of Hector Maclean of Duart, by whom he had issue—

1. John, his heir.
2. Æneas, of whom the family of Sithean.
3. John "Odhar," who settled in Lochcarron, and of whom the Clann Ian Uidhir of that district, Strathglass, and elsewhere in the North, some of whom have changed their names to MacNairs. Most of the Strathglass Macdonalds emigrated to Canada, principally to Nova-Scotia.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. JOHN MACDONALD,

Fifth of Glengarry, who married his cousin, a daughter of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, by a daughter of Hector Mor Maclean of Duart, with issue—one son, who succeeded as,

XIII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD,

Sixth of Glengarry, whom we find mentioned as "Allastyr Mac Ean Vic Allyster of Morvern and Glengarrie," in a bond of manrent to Colin, Earl of Argyll, the King's

* Reg. Sec. Sig., Lib. 5, fo. 192.

† Acts Dom. Con., Lib. 12, fol. 2 b.

Lieutenant at the time over the district in which Glengarry's property lay, dated 5th of February, 1519, with a Notarial Instrument thereon, dated 8th of August in the same year. Under date of 30th March, 1538, there is recorded in the Register of the Privy Council, vol. 26, No. 426, a letter under the Privy Seal to "Alexander Mackane MacAlester of Glengarry," of the Slysmyne of Glengarry and Moror, "wyt all malis, fermes, proffitis, and dewteis of ye saide lands wyt yare pertinents of all yeris and terms bigane yat ye samin hes been in our soverane lordis handis or his predecessoris by resoune of nonentres sen ye deceis of John MacAlastir, fader to ye saide Alexander, or his predecessoris." On the 6th of March in the same year there is a charter under the Great Seal in favour of "Alexander Mackane MacAlister et Margarete Ylis ejus spouse" in liferent; "et Angusio MacAlister eorum filio et heredi apparenti" in fee, and his heirs male, of the lands of Glengarry and Moror, with the Castle, Fortalice, and Manor of Strome, half of Lochalsh, Lochbroom, &c., &c., proceeding on the resignation of Alexander and Margaret of Lochalsh. In the controversy between Glengarry and Clanranald about the chiefship of the clan, the Clanranald champion made strong aspersions on the character of this lady, whom he erroneously described as, and confused with, a *daughter* of Celestine of Lochalsh. For the charge there is not a vestige of foundation. She was a *grand-daughter* of Celestine, a daughter of his son and successor, Alexander, and sister and co-heiress of Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, who died, without issue, in 1518, when she succeeded, as eldest daughter of Sir Alexander, and co-heiress of his only son, Sir Donald Gallda, to one-half of his estates. These she carried to her husband, Alexander of Glengarry, and in consequence, secured for him a position of great influence and power.

On the 26th of February, 1515, Grant of Freuchy obtained a decree against Sir Donald Gallda of Lochalsh, Chisholm of Comar, *Alexander John Ranaldson's son in Glengarry*, Donald Mac Angus More in Achadrom, and

others, "for the wrongous and violent spoliation and takand of the fortalice of Urquhart, frae the said John the Grant, and for £2000 as the value thereof."

He married, as already stated, Margaret de Insulis and Lochalsh, co-heiress of Sir Donald (Gallda) Macdonald of Lochalsh, and, according to the best authorities, lineal representative and heiress to the forfeited Earldom of Ross, with issue—an only son, who succeeded as,

XIV. ÆNEAS MACDONALD,

Seventh of Glengarry. He has a charter under the Great Seal* confirming "Honorabili viro Angusio Mac Alester filio ac heredi apparenti *quondam* Alexandri Mackane de Glengarie suisque heredibus masculis de corpore, &c., omnes et singulas terras de Glengarie, necnon terras Drynathane insulum de Sleichmeine duodecim mercatus terrarum antiqui extentus de Morare duodecim mercatus terrarum antiqui extentus de Locheache, viz., Inchnarine, Andenarra, Sallachie, &c., &c.—quatour mercatus terrarum de Lochcarron"—&c., &c., which had been appraised from him by John Grant of Freuchy, dated 19th July, 1574. Complaint was made to the Privy Council by the widow of Robert Guidlett, a mariner in Kinghorn, that her "spous being at the fischeing the last yeir in the North Ilis, at the loch callit Lochstrone, within the dominion of Anguss McAlexander of Glengarry, wes in the hinderend of harvist last bipast crewallie set upoun and slane be —— Panter and utheris his complices," all of whom were within the dominions of Angus, and were his tenants. Angus was ordained of his own consent to affix and hold courts as often as need be within his bounds and dominions in the west, and put the "committaris of the said cryme to the knowledge of ane assyiss of the merchandis and marynaris that first sall happin to arrive at Lochstrone or Lochcarron at the next fischeing," and he is to minister justice upon

* Reg. Sec. Sig., Lib. ii., fo. 62 b.

them, if found culpable or innocent, conform to the laws of the realm.*

Æneas married, first, Janet, only daughter of Hector Og Maclean of Duart, with issue—an only son,

1. Donald, his heir.

He married, secondly, Margaret Macleod, daughter of Roderick Macleod, "King's Baron of Herries," with issue—

2. Margaret, who married one of the Cuthberts of Castlehill, Inverness, and became the progenitrix of the famous Colbert, Charles, Marques of Seignelay, Minister of Lewis XIV. of France.†

He married, thirdly, Mary, daughter of Kenneth-na-Cuirc, X. of Kintail, with issue, a daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Roy Mackenzie, IV. of Gairloch, with issue Mary, his third wife, survived Angus, and married, as her second husband, Chisholm of Comar.

He was succeeded by his only son,

XV. DONALD MACDONALD,

Eighth of Glengarry, who has a charter under the Great Seal as "Donaldo MacAngus MacAlister filio et heredi apparenti Angusii MacAllester de Glengarrie—et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreandis," &c.—of the lands of Glengarry, "Drynathane, insula de Sleuchmeine," &c., proceeding upon the resignation of Angus, dated 19th of July, 1574.‡ He was known among the Highlanders as *Domhnall Mac Aonghais mhic Alastair* (Donald, son of Angus, son of Alastair), and styled "of Morar, Knoydart, and Glengarry". He has a Special Retour before the Sheriff-Depute of the County of Inverness, by a Respectable Inquest, dated 5th November, 1584, in the following terms:—"Qui Jurati Dicunt quod quondam

* This Commission is dated "At Holyrood-house, 16th July, 1574," and is given at length, pp. 100-101, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*.

† Parliamentary Warrant for the Bore Brieve of Charles, Marques Seignelay, 1686.

‡ Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 34, No. 110.

Margareta Ylis *avia* Donaldi MacAngus MacAlester de Glengarrie latoris presentium obiit ultimo restitus et saisitus ut de feodo ad pacem Matris supremi Domini nostri de omnibus et singulis terris de dimidietate terrarum de Achiult et dimidietate terrarum de Torrurdane cum piscariis, &c. Et quod dictus Donaldus de Glengarrie *est Legitimus et Propinquior hæres quondam Margarete Ylis avie sue*, &c.*

He has a General Retour at Edinburgh, under date of 27th April, 1629, before the Sheriff-Deputes of the county and a "distinguished" jury, among whom we find the names of the direct male ancestors of the chiefs of Sleat and of Clanranald of Castletirrim as "principal members," expressly swearing to the legitimacy of Celestine of the Isles and Lochalsh, and to the descent of Glengarry from him and from John, last Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, through this Donald, and, of course, through Margaret of the Isles and Lochalsh. Yet the modern representatives of Sleat and Clanranald of Moydart maintained, sixty years ago, the very opposite to this, and would have us believe that their own ancestors, who lived at a time when they had far better means of knowing the facts than their modern representatives, committed perjury when their own interests were altogether in the opposite direction—against the establishment of Glengarry's claim to represent, through Margaret of the Isles and Celestine her grandfather, the Earls of Ross and Lords of the Isles. The finding of this distinguished jury and of the chiefs of Sleat and Clanranald in 1629,† is as follows:—"Qui Jurati Dicunt quod quondam Celestine de Ylis de Lochelche Frater quondam Joannis Comitiss de Ros Domini de Ylis Abavus Donaldi MacAngus de Glengarrie obiit, &c. Et quod dictus Donaldus MacAngus lator presentium est Legitimus et propinquior Hæres ejusdem quondam Celes-

* Original in the Registers of Chancery.

† "Dominum Donaldum McDonald de Slait, Joannem McLaud de Dunnyvagine, Joannem McRanald de Yllantirim," are the first three on the list of jurors.

tini de Ylis de Lochelche sui abavi.”* We have already referred to the charge of licentiousness made by the Clanranald champion, in the controversy of sixty years ago, against this Margaret of the Isles. He has clearly confused her with her aunt, another Margaret of the Isles, a daughter of Celestine, who behaved so badly as to call at the time for the interposition of the crown. The above-quoted documents, however, conclusively prove to those who require proof that the progenitrix of Glengarry was quite a different person and could not be the Margaret of doubtful character who is admitted by all parties—even by the champion of Clanranald—to have been a *daughter* of Celestine, while the Margaret who married Glengarry was his *grand-daughter*.

In “Also a Fiar Raonuillich’s” third letter to the editor of the “Inverness Journal,” dated 27th May, 1818, in defence of Clanranald of Castletirrim, he says:—“I shall refer to the Privy Seal Record, where, on the 8th of September, 1507, there will be found a letter to the Earl of Huntly, stating that the king had given to Margaret, the sister of Alexander of the Isles of Lochguelch, Knight, certain lands during pleasure—that Margaret had ‘applyit and subjectit her persone, lands, and gudes, quhether in lauchful marriage or otherwise, we know not, to Donald Mac Arle MacLauchlane Dowe’. Now, the designation of Margaret in this deed points her out, beyond a doubt, to be Celestine’s *daughter and sister of Alexander*, designated of Lochalsh.” After quoting other deeds to the same effect, he adds—“On perusing the above documents, it must strike every person, 1st, that Margaret *the sister of Alexander*, was not married in September, 1507, but rather seems to have lived in open adultery, so glaring as to call the particular attention of the crown; and that this Margaret was afterwards Glengarry’s wife cannot be doubted, when her designation is attended to, which is ‘*sister of Alexander of the Isles of Lochguelch*,’ &c.” It has been already proved that this woman was not afterwards Glengarry’s wife, but

* Original in Registers of Chancery.

her niece, a lady of the same name, was, and no reflection that we can trace was ever cast upon her character. In another letter the Castletirrim champion states that the lady "was the grand-neice of Celestine and the daughter of Angus, the bastard son of John, last Earl of Ross attainted, . . . and this fair lady appears, from a document dated 8th September, 1507, by King James to the Earl of Huntly, 'to have subjected her person, land, and gudes, quhether in lauchful marriage or otherwayes we know not, to Donald Mack Arle Mack Lachlane Dowe'." From these two quotations it will be seen that the same writer makes her at one and the same time the daughter and grand-niece of Celestine of Lochalsh; and this is but one specimen of many extraordinary feats which he performs throughout the bitter controversy in which he was so long engaged in the interest of Clanranald against Glengarry.

There is a case recorded in Durie's Decisions, under date of 26th February, 1650 (Glengarry against Munro of Fowlis), and another dated 4th of February, 1531 (Glengarry against Lord Lovat), where Glengarry's title, derived through Celestine of the Isles and Lochalsh, was sustained by the Court of Session expressly as heir to the Lords of the Isles, and the title to pursue in these two actions and sustained by the Court was a transumpt of three charters in favour of Celestine by his brother John, last Earl of Ross. In one of these charters he is called *Carissimus Frater*, in the second *Frater Carnalis*, and in the third *Frater Legitimus Carnalis*. We have already given Gregory's opinion of these terms (pp. 88-89), and it is held by those who maintain Celestine's legitimacy that "in those days of Papal influence *carnalis* was contra-distinguished to *spiritualis*—brother laymen and brother churchman." A strong point is made by the Glengarry champion of the General Retour already referred to, by a jury of which Macdonald of Sleat and Macdonald of Clanranald were principal members, and it is fairly argued that "If Celestine had been a bastard, he could not legally, or in any formal

instrument, be designated as the brother of the Earl of Ross, *being the character to be proved*; and as Earl John was attainted and his estate forfeited, no right personal vested in him could be carried by service or succession. It was otherwise with Celestine; he possessed extensive estates, which, though violently usurped by others, were not legally forfeited, and nothing but the plea of prescription and taciturnity prevented the recovery of them, as appears from Lord Durie's collection of adjudged cases, who, sitting as a judge on the bench at a time not very distant from the period of Celestine's succession, could not be ignorant of the circumstances of the case." This is a legal deduction with which we do not feel competent to deal, and only state it for the consideration of those whose training fit them to decide it.

There is an agreement entered into between Angus MacAlester of Glengarry and John Grant of Freuchy, dated at Elgin on the 17th of November, 1571, by which Glengarry binds and obliges himself to cause Donald MacAngus, his son and apparent heir, to solemnize and complete the bond of matrimony in face of holy kirk with Helen Grant, lawful daughter to the said John Grant of Freuchy, betwixt the date above named and the fast of Saint John the Baptist called Midsummer next immediately thereafter. At the same time he agrees to grant to the laird of Freuchy a bond of manrent. Donald MacAngus, however, failed to enter into the agreement made in his behalf, and he refused to marry Helen Grant. The consequences proved serious to Glengarry. In 1548 his lands had been appraised for satisfaction of a previous "spulzie," and sold to James Grant for the sum of £10,770 13s. 4d., and, in 1554, Queen Mary granted to John Grant, Helen's father, and the son and heir of James Grant of Freuchy, "the relief of various lands, including Glengarrie, which belonged to him as heir, and the relief of which belonged to the Queen".* The estates had not passed to Grant in virtue of the above-named apprising, but they were again

* Origines Parochiales, vol. ii., part i., p. 185.

apprised in consequence of Donald's refusal to marry Freuchy's daughter. They are, however, re-granted by Grant to Glengarry by a charter, already quoted, and confirmed by the crown on the 8th of July, 1574. In the contract between himself and Grant, Glengarry, in a bond of manrent, which he agreed to give, makes an exception in favour "of ye auctoritie of our soverane and his Chief of Clanranald only". This is held by Clanranald of Moydart as an acknowledgment by Glengarry of the Captain of Clanranald as his chief. It is impossible to argue this away satisfactorily in the manner attempted by the Glengarry champion in the controversy already referred to. John Moydartach was then at the zenith of his power, and was *de facto* the most powerful and distinguished warrior of the whole Clandonald. Glengarry's power was on the wane, and at this period very limited in comparison with that of his namesake of Clanranald. The necessities of his position might therefore have compelled him—as at a later period the same cause obliged Cluny Macpherson to acknowledge Mackintosh—to own the most distinguished and powerful of his contemporary Macdonald leaders, the Captain of Clanranald, as his chief. In these circumstances, and knowing the man with whom he had to deal, we are not disposed to attach much weight to this one isolated instance of alleged acknowledgment on the part of Glengarry; and especially when it is made in favour of one who could not possibly be chief even of the Clanranalds of Castletirrim, inasmuch as he was beyond question of illegitimate birth. This point is at once disposed of by an entry in the original Record of the Privy Seal in the following terms :

*"Preceptum Legitimationis Johannis MacAlestar de Casteltirrim bastardi filii naturalis quondam Alexandri MacAlane de Casteltirrim in communi forma etc. Apud Striveling xv Januarrii anno j m v° xxxi (1531).—Per Signetum."**

On the margin is an entry "xs" showing that the usual fee of ten shillings had been paid by the grantee, and it is

* Reg. Sec. Sig. lib. 9, fo. 72 b.

clear from the docquet, "Per Signetum," that it passed the Signet as well as the Privy Seal.

The reign of this Glengarry was an exceedingly turbulent one. From 1580 to 1603 incessant feuds were carried on between the family and the Mackenzies, with the usual depredations and slaughters on both sides. These originally arose out of disputes between the two families regarding Strome Castle and the other property in Lochcarron and Lochalsh brought to the family of Glengarry by the marriage of Alexander, sixth baron, to Margaret of Lochalsh and the Isles. These lands adjoined those of the Mackenzies in Kintail, Lochalsh, and Lochcarron, and in the then state of society, and the feelings of jealousy which almost invariably existed between the clans, it was easy to find means of disagreements, heated disputes, and quarrels. Angus Og of Glengarry, a desperate and brave warrior, made numerous incursions into the country of the Mackenzies, committing, with his followers, wholesale outrages and murders, which were in their turn revenged by the Kintail men.

The following account of these feuds is founded on old MSS. and the public records. Glengarry and his followers "sorned" on Mackenzie's tenants, not only in those districts in the immediate vicinity of his own property, but also, during their raids from Glengarry, on the outskirts of Kintail, and thus Mackenzie's dependants were continually harrassed by Glengarry's cruelty and ill-usage. His own tenants in Lochalsh and Lochcarron fared little better, particularly the Mathesons in the former, and the Clann Ian Uidhir in the latter—originally the possessors of Glengarry's lands in the district. These tribes, finding themselves in such miserable slavery, though they regularly paid their rents and other dues, and seeing how kindly Mackenzie used the neighbouring tenants, envied their more comfortable state and "abhorred Glengarry's rascality, who would lie in their houses (yea, force their women and daughters) so long as there was any good to be given, which made them keep better amity and correspondence

with Mackenzie and his tenants than with their own master and his followers. This may partly teach how superiors ought always to govern and oversee their tenantry and followers, especially in the Highlands, who are ordinarily made up of several clans, and will not readily underlie such slavery as the Incountry Commons will do."

The first serious outbreak between the Glengarry Macdonalds and the Mackenzies originated thus : One Duncan Mac Ian Uidhir Mhic Dhonnachaidh, known as "a very honest gentleman," who, in his early days, lived under Glengarry, and was a very good deerstalker and an excellent shot, often resorted to the forest of Glasletter, then the property of the Mackenzies of Gairloch, where he killed many of the deer. Some time afterwards, Duncan was, in consequence of certain troubles in his own country, obliged to leave it, and he, with all his family and goods, took up his quarters in Glen Affric, close to the forest. Soon after, he went, accompanied by a friend, to the nearest hill, and commenced his favourite pursuit of deerstalking. Mackenzie's forester perceiving him, and knowing him as an old poacher, cautiously walked up to him, came upon him unawares and demanded that he should at once surrender himself and his arms. Duncan, finding that Gairloch's forester was accompanied by only one gillie, "thought it an irrecoverable affront that he and his man should so yield, and refused to do so on any terms, whereupon the forester being ill-set, and remembering former abuses in their passages," he and his companion instantly killed the poachers, and buried them in the hill. Fionnla Dubh Mac Dhomh'uill Mhoir, and Donald Mac Ian Leith, a native of Gairloch, were suspected of the crime, but it was never proved against them, though they were both repeatedly put on their trial by the barons of Kintail and Gairloch.

About two years after the deed was committed, Duncan's bones were discovered by one of his friends who continued most diligently to search for him. The Macdonalds always suspected foul play, and this being now placed beyond question by the discovery of the victims, a party of them

started, determined to revenge the death of their clansmen; and, arriving at Inchlochell, in Glenstrathfarrar, then the property of Rory Mor of Redcastle, they found Duncan Mac Ian Mhic Dhomh'uill Mhoir, a brother of the suspected Finlay Dubh, without any fear of approaching danger, busily engaged ploughing his patch of land, whom they at once attacked and killed. The celebrated Rory Mor, hearing of the murder of his tenant, at once despatched a messenger to Glengarry to demand redress and the punishment of the assassins, but Glengarry refused. Rory determined to have satisfaction, and resolved, against the counsel of his friends, to have retribution for this and previous injuries as best he could. Having thus determined, he immediately sent for his trusted friend, Dugall Mackenzie of Applecross, to consult with him as to the best mode of procedure to ensure success.

Macdonald at the time lived in the Castle of Strome, Lochcarron, and, after consultation, the two Mackenzies resolved to use every means in their power to capture him, or some of his nearest relatives. For this purpose Dugall suggested a plan by which he would, he thought, induce the unsuspecting Glengarry to meet him on a certain day at Kishorn. Rory Mor, to avoid any suspicion, would start at once for Lochbroom, under cloak of attending to his interests there; and if Glengarry agreed to meet Dugall at Kishorn, he would immediately send notice of the day to Rory. No sooner had Dugall arrived at home than he despatched a messenger to Glengarry to inform him that he had matters of great importance to communicate to him, and that he wished, for that purpose, to meet him on any day which he might deem suitable.

Day and place were soon arranged, and Dugall at once sent a messenger, as arranged, with full particulars of the proposed meeting to Rory Mor, who instantly gathered his friends, the Clann Allan, and marched along with them to Lochcarron. On his arrival, he had a meeting with Donald Mac Ian Mhic Ian Uidhir, and Angus Mac Eachainn, both of the Clann Ian Uidhir, and closely allied

to Glengarry by blood and marriage, and living on his lands ; "Yet notwithstanding this alliance, they, fearing his, and his rascality's further oppression, were content to join Rory in the plot ". The appointed day having arrived, Glengarry and his lady (a daughter of the Captain of Clan Ranald, he having previously, it is said, sent away the daughter of the laird of Grant) came by sea to Kishorn. He and Dugall Mackenzie having conferred together for a considerable time discussing matters of importance to each other as neighbours, Glengarry took his leave, but while being convoyed to his boat, Dugall suggested the impropriety of his going home by sea in such a clumsy boat, when he had only a distance of two miles to walk, and if he did not suspect his own inability to make the lady comfortable for the night, he would be glad to provide for her and see her home safely next morning. Macdonald declined the proffered hospitality to his lady ; sent her home by the boat, accompanied by four of his followers, and told Dugall that he would not endanger the boat by overloading, but that he and the remainder of his gentlemen and followers would go home on foot.

Rory Mor had meanwhile placed his men in ambush in a place called Glaic nan Gillean. Glengarry and his train, on their way to Strome Castle, came upon them without the slightest suspicion, when they were suddenly surrounded by Rory's followers, and called upon to surrender. Seeing this, one of the Macdonalds shot an arrow at Rory, which fixed in the fringe of his plaid, when his followers, thinking their leader had been mortally wounded, furiously attacked the Macdonalds ; but Rory commanded his friends, under pain of death, to save Glengarry's life, who, seeing he had no chance of escape, and hearing Rory's orders to his men, threw away his sword, and ran into Rory's arms, begging that his life might be spared. This was at once granted to him, but not a single one of his men escaped from the infuriated followers of Rory Mor, who started the same night, taking Glengarry along with him, to Lochbroom.

Even this did not satisfy the cruel disposition of Donald

Mac Ian Mhic Ian Uidhir and Angus Mac Eachainn, who had an old grudge against their chief, Glengarry, his father having some time previously evicted their father from a davocho of land in Attadale, Lochcarron, to which they claimed a right. They, under silence of night, gathered all the Clann Ian Uidhir, and proceeded to Arinaskaig and Dalmartin, where lived at the time three uncles of Glengarry—Gorrie, Rory, and Ronald—whom they, with all their retainers, killed on the spot. “This murder was undoubtedly unknown to Rory or any of the Mackenzies, though alleged otherwise; for as soon as his nephew, Colin of Kintail, and his friends heard of this accident, they were much concerned, and would have him (Rory) set Glengarry at liberty; but all their persuasions would not do till he was secured of him by writ and oath, that he and his would never pursue this accident either legally or unlegally, and which, as was said, he never intended to do, till seventeen years thereafter, when, in 1597, the children of these three uncles of Glengarry arrived at manhood,” determined, (as will be seen hereafter), to revenge their father’s death.*

Gregory, however, says (p. 219) that after his liberation Glengarry complained to the Privy Council, who, investigating the matter; caused the Castle of Strome which Macdonald yielded to Mackenzie as one of the conditions of his release, to be placed under the temporary custody of the Earl of Argyll; and Mackenzie of Kintail was detained at Edinburgh, in what was called open ward, to answer such charges as might be brought against him. This is confirmed by the Records of the Privy Council. In 1586, King James VI. granted a remission to “Colin M’Kainzie of Kintail, and Rodoric M’Kainzie of Auchterfailie (Redcastle and Artafeelie), his brother, for being art and part in the cruel murder of Rodoric M’Allester in Stroll; Gorie M’Allester, his brother, in Stromcraig; Ronnald M’Gorie, the son of the latter; John Roy M’Allane v’ Allester, in Pitnean; John Dow M’Allane v’ Allester, in Kirkcoun Lochcarron; Alexander M’Allanroy, servitor of the deceased Rodoric;

* Ancient and Ardintoul MSS.

Sir John Monro in Lochbrume ; John Monro, his son ; John Monro Hucheoun, and the rest of their accomplices, under silence of night, upon the lands of Ardmanichtyke, Dalmartene, Kirktown of Lochcarroun, Blahat, and other parts within the baronies of Lochcarroun, Lochbrume, Ros, and Kessane, in the Sherifffdom of Innerness," and for all other past crimes.

In 1597, Alexander MacGorrie and Ranald MacRory, sons of Glengarry's uncles murdered in Lochcarron in 1580, having arrived at maturity, and being brave and intrepid fellows, determined to revenge upon Mackenzie the death of their parents. With this object they went to Applecross, where lived one of the murderers, John Og, son of Angus MacEachainn, surrounded his house, and set fire to it, burning to death himself and his whole family. Kintail sought redress from Glengarry, who, while he did not absolutely refuse, did not grant it, or punish the wrongdoers ; and encouraged by Glengarry's son, Angus, who had now attained his majority, the cousins, taking advantage of Mackenzie's absence, who had gone on a visit to France, continued their depredations and insolence wherever they found opportunity. Besides, they made a complaint against him to the Privy Council, whereupon he was charged at the pier of Leith to appear before the Council on an appointed day under pain of forfeiture. In this emergency, Mr. John Mackenzie, minister of Dingwall, went privately to France in search of his chief, whom he found and brought back in the most secret manner to Edinburgh, fortunately in time to present himself next day before the Council, in terms of the summons at Glengarry's instance ; and, after consulting his legal adviser and other friends, he appeared quite unexpectedly before their Lordships.

Meantime, while the gentlemen were on their way from France, Alexander MacGorrie and Alexander MacRory killed in his bed Donald Mackenneth Mhic Alastair, a gentleman of the family of Davochmaluag, who lived at Kishorn. The shirt, covered with his blood, had been sent

to Edinburgh to await Mackenzie's arrival, who, the same day presented it before the Privy Council, as evidence of the foul crime committed by his accusers. Glengarry was quite unable to prove anything material against Kintail or his followers; but, on the contrary, the Rev. John Mackenzie of Dingwall charged Glengarry with being instrumental in the murder of John Og and his family at Applecross, as also in that of Donald Mackenzie of Davochmaluag, and undertook not only to prove this, but also that he was a sorner, an oppressor of his own and of his neighbours' tenants, an idolator, who had a man in Lochbroom making images, in testimony of which he carried south the image of St. Coan, which Glengarry worshipped, called in Edinburgh Glengarry's God, and which was, by public order, burnt at the Town Cross; that Glengarry was a man who lived in constant adultery, that he had put away the laird of Grant's daughter; whereupon Glengarry was summoned to appear next day before the Council, and to lodge defences. He naturally became alarmed, and fearing the worst, fled from the city during the night, and gave up further legal proceedings against Mackenzie. Being afterwards repeatedly summoned, and failing to put in an appearance, most of the charges were found proven against him; and in 1602,* he was declared outlaw and rebel; a commission of fire and sword was granted to Mackenzie against Glengarry and all his followers, with a decree of ransom for the loss of those who were burnt and plundered by him, and for Kintail's charges and expenses, making altogether a very large sum. But while these legal questions were being arranged, Angus, younger of Glengarry, who was of a restless, daring disposition, went with some of his followers under silence of night to Kintail, burnt the township of Cro, killed and burnt several men, women, and children, and carried away a large spoil.

Mackenzie, decided to requite the quarrel by at once

* Record of Privy Council, 9th September, 1602; Sir Robert Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, p. 248; Letterfearn, Ardintoul, and other MS. Histories of the Mackenzies.

executing his commission against Glengarry, and immediately set out in pursuit, leaving a sufficient number of men at home to secure the safety of his property. He took with him a force of seventeen hundred men, at the same time taking three hundred cows from his farm of Strathbraan to maintain his followers. Ross of Balnagowan sent a party of a hundred and eighty men, under command of Alexander Ross of Invercharron, to aid his neighbour of Kintail, while John Gordon of Embo commanded a hundred and twenty men sent to his aid by the Earl of Sutherland, in virtue of the long standing bond of manrent between the two families; but, according to our authority, Sir John "retired at Monar, growing faint-hearted before he saw the enemy". Andrew Munro of Novar also accompanied Kintail on this expedition. The Macdonalds, hearing of Mackenzie's approach, drove all their cattle to Morar, where they gathered in strong force to guard them. Kintail, learning this, marched straight where they were; harried and wasted all the country through which he had to pass; defeated and routed the Macdonalds, and drove into Kintail the largest booty ever heard of in the Highlands of Scotland, "both of cows, horses, small bestial, duin-uasals, and plenishing, which he most generously distributed amongst his soldiers, and especially amongst such strangers as were with him, so that John Gordon of Embo was at his repentance for his return".

Before starting from home on this expedition, Kintail drove every one of Glengarry's followers out of their holdings in Lochalsh and Lochcarron, except a few of the "Mathewsons and the Clann Ian Uidhir," and any others who promised to submit to him and to prove their sincerity by "imbrowning their hands in the enemy's blood". The Castle of Strome, however, still continued in possession of the Macdonalds.

Mackenzie, after his return home, had not well dissolved his camp when Alexander MacGorrie and Ranald MacRory made an incursion to the district of Kenlochewe, and there meeting some women and children who had fled from Loch-

carron with their cattle, he attacked them unexpectedly, killed many of the defenceless women, all the male children, killed and took away many of the cattle, and "houghed" all they were not able to carry along with them.

In the following autumn, MacGorrie made a voyage to Applecross in a great galley, contrary to the advice of all his friends, who looked upon that place as a sanctuary which all Highlanders had hitherto respected, it being the property of the Church. Notwithstanding that many took refuge in it in the past, he was the first man who ever pursued a fugitive to the place, "but," says our authority, "it fared no better with him or he rested, but he being informed that some Kintail men, whom he thought no sin to kill anywhere," had taken refuge there with their cattle, he determined to kill them, but on his arrival he found only two poor fellows, tending their cows. These he murdered, slaughtered all the cows, and took away as many of them as his boat would carry.

A few days after this Glengarry combined with the Macdonalds of Moydart, the Clann Ian Uidhir, and several others of the Macdonalds, who gathered together amongst them thirty-seven birlinns with the intention of sailing to Lochbroom, and, on their return, to burn and harry the whole of Mackenzie's territories on the west coast. Coming to an arm of the sea on the east side of Kyleakin, called Loch na Beist, opposite Lochalsh, they sent Alexander MacGorrie forward with eighty men in a large galley to examine the coast in advance of the main body. They first landed in Applecross, in the same spot where MacGorrie had previously killed the two Kintail men. Kintail was at the time on a visit to Mackenzie of Gairloch, and hearing of Glengarry's approach and the object of his visit, he ordered all his coasts to be placed in readiness, and sent Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty with sixteen men and eight oarsmen, in an eight oared galley belonging to and in charge of John Tolmach Macleod, to watch the enemy and examine the coast as far as Kylerhea. On their way south they landed by the merest chance at Applecross, on the

north side of the point where MacGorrie landed. Here they noticed a woman gathering shellfish on the shore, and who no sooner saw them than she came and informed them that a great galley had landed in the morning on the other side of the promontory. They at once suspected it to be an advanced scout of the enemy, and, ordering their boat round the point, in charge of the oarsmen, they took the shortest cut across the neck of land, and, when half way over, they met one of Macdonald's sentries lying sound asleep on the ground. He was soon sent to his long rest ; and the Mackenzies, blowing up a set of bagpipes found lying beside him, rushed towards the Macdonalds, who, suddenly surprised and alarmed by the sound of the bagpipes, and thinking a strong force was falling down upon them, fled to their boat, except MacGorrie, who, when he left it, swore a great oath that he would never return with his back to the enemy ; but finding it impossible single-handed to resist them, he retired a little, closely followed by the Mackenzies, who furiously attacked him. He was now forced to draw aside to a rock, against which he placed his back, and fought right manfully, defending himself with extraordinary intrepidity, receiving the enemy's arrows in his targe. He was ultimately wounded by an arrow which struck him under the belt, yet no one dared to approach him ; but John Dubh MacChoinnich Mhic Mhurchaidh noticing his amazing agility, seeing his party had arrived with the boat, and fearing they would lose Glengarry's galley unless they at once pursued it, went round to the back of the rock against which the brave Macdonald stood, carrying a great boulder, which he dropped straight on to MacGorrie's head, instantly killing him. Thus died the most skilful and best chieftain—had he possessed equal wisdom and discretion—then alive among the Macdonalds of Glengarry.

The Mackenzies immediately took to their boat, pursuing Macdonald's galley to Loch na Beist, where, noticing the enemy's whole fleet coming out against them, John Tolmach recommended them to put out to sea ; but finding the fleet

gaining upon them, they decided to land in Applecross, where they were nearly overtaken by the enemy. They were obliged to leave their boat and run for their lives, hotly pursued by the Macdonalds; and were it not that one of Mackenzie's men—John Mac Rory Mhic Mhurchaidh Matthewson—was so well acquainted with the ground, and led them to a ford on the river between two rocks, which the Macdonald's missed, and the night coming on, they would have been quite unable to escape. The Macdonalds retraced their steps to their boats, and on the way discovered the body of Alexander MacGorrie, whose death "put their boasting to mourning," and conceiving his fate ominous of additional misfortunes, they, carrying him along with them, prudently returned home, and disbanded all their followers. The Mackenzies soon arrived at Gairloch's house in Loch Maree, and gave a full account of their expedition, whereupon Kintail immediately decided upon taking further active measures against the Macdonalds. In the meantime he was assured that they had gone to their own country. He soon returned home, and found that the people of Kintail and Glengarry, tiring of incessant slaughters and mutual injuries, agreed, in his absence, in the month of May, to cease hostilities until the following Lammas. Of this agreement Kintail knew nothing; and young Glengarry, against the earnest solicitations of his father, who became a party to the agreement between his people and those of Kintail, started with a strong force to Glenshiel and Letterfearn, while Allan Macdonald of Lundy with another party went to Glenelchaig; harried those places, took away a large number of cattle; killed some of the aged men; several women, and all the male children. They found none of the principal and able-bodied men (who had withdrawn some distance that they might, with greater advantage, gather together in a body and defend themselves) except Duncan MacIan Mhic Ghillechallum in Killichirtorn, whom the Macdonalds apprehended, and would have killed, had not one of them, formerly his friend and acquaintance, prevailed upon young Glengarry

to save his life, and send him to the Castle of Strome, where he still had a garrison, rather than kill him.

The successful result of this expedition encouraged Angus so much that he began to think fortune had at last turned in his favour, and he set out and called personally upon all the chiefs and leaders of the various branches of the Macdonalds throughout the west, soliciting their assistance against the Mackenzies, which they all agreed to give in the ensuing spring.

This came to Mackenzie's knowledge. He was at the time residing in Islandonain Castle, and, fearing the consequences of such a powerful combination against him, he went privately to Mull by sea to consult his brother-in-law, Maclean of Duart, to whom he told that he had a commission of fire and sword against "the rebels of Glengarry and such as would rise in arms to assist them, and being informed that the Macdonalds near him (Maclean) had combined to join them, and to put him to further trouble, that, therefore, he would not only, as a good subject but as his fast friend, divert these whenever they should rise in arms against him".* Maclean undertook to prevent the assistance of the Macdonalds of Isla, Glencoe, and Ardnamurchan, by, if necessary, invading their territories, and thus compelling them to protect their own interests at home. It appears that old Glengarry was still anxious to arrange a permanent peace with Mackenzie; but young Angus, restless and turbulent as ever, would not hear of any peaceful settlement, and determined to start at once upon an expedition, from which his father told him, at the time, he had little hopes of his ever returning alive—a forecast which turned out only too true.

Angus, taking advantage of Mackenzie's absence in Mull, gathered, in the latter end of November, as secretly as he could, all the boats and great galleys within his reach, and, with this large fleet, loaded with his followers, passed through the Kyles under silence of night; and, coming to Lochcarron, he sent his followers ashore in the

* Ardintoul MS.

twilight. The inhabitants perceiving them, escaped to the hills, but the Macdonalds slaughtered the aged men who could not escape, and many of the women and children ; seized all the cattle, and drove them to the Island of Slumbay, where their boats lay, which they filled with the carcases. Before, however, they had fully loaded, the alarm having gone through the districts of Lochalsh and Kintail, some of the natives were seen coming in the direction of Lochcarron. The Macdonalds deemed it prudent to remain no longer, and set out to sea pursued by a shower of arrows by way of a farewell, which, however, had but very little effect, as they were already out of range.

The Kintail men, by the shortest route, now returned to Islandonain, sending twelve of the swiftest of their number across country to Inverinate, where lay, newly built, a twelve-oared galley, which had never been to sea, belonging to Gillecrist MacDhonnachaidh, one of Inverinate's tenants. These heroes made such rapid progress that they were back at the castle with the boat before many of their companions arrived from Lochcarron. During the night they set to work, superintended and encouraged by Mackenzie's lady in person, to make arrangements for going to meet the enemy. The best men were quickly picked out. The lady supplied them with all the materials and necessities within her reach, handed them the lead and powder with her own hands, and gave them two small pieces of brass ordnance. She ordered Duncan MacGillechriost, a powerful handsome fellow, to take command of the galley in his father's absence, and in eloquent terms charged them all with the honour of her house and her own protection in her husband's absence. This was hardly necessary, for the Kintail men had not yet forgotten the breach of faith committed by Macdonald regarding the recent agreement to cease hostilities for a stated time, and other recent sores. Her ladyship wishing them God-speed, they started on their way rejoicing, and in the best of spirits. She mounted the castle walls, and stood there encouraging them until, by the darkness of the night, she could no longer see them.

On their way towards Kylerhea they met a boat from Lochalsh sent out to inform them of the arrival of the Macdonalds at Kyleakin. Learning this, they cautiously kept their course close to the south side of the loch. It was a calm moonlight night, with occasional slight showers of snow. The tide had already begun to flow, and, judging that the Macdonalds would wait the next turning of the tide, to enable them to get through Kylerhea, the Kintail men, longing for their prey, resolved to advance and meet the enemy. They had not proceeded far, rowing very gently, after placing seaweed in the rowlocks so as not to make a noise, when they noticed a boat rowing at the hardest and coming in their direction ; but from its small size they thought it must have been sent by the Macdonalds in advance to test the passage of Kylerhea. They therefore allowed it to pass unmolested, and proceeded northward, looking for Macdonald's own galley. When they neared the Cailleach, a low rock midway between both Kyles, it was seen in the distance covered with snow. The night also favoured them, the sea, calm, appearing black and mournful to the enemy. Here they met the first galley, and drawing up near it, they soon discovered it to be no other than Macdonald's own great galley, some distance ahead of the rest of the fleet. Macdonald, as soon as he noticed them, called out "Who is there"? twice in succession, but received no answer, and finding the Kintail men drawing nearer he called out the third time, when, in reply, he received a full broadside from Mackenzie's cannon, which disabled his galley and threw her on the Cailleach Rock. The men on board Macdonald's galley thought they had been driven on shore, and flocked to the fore part of the boat, striving to escape, thus capsizing and filling the galley. Discovering their position, and seeing a long stretch of sea lying between them and the mainland, they became quite confused, and were completely at the mercy of their enemies, who sent some of their men ashore to despatch any of the poor wretches who might swim to land, while others remained in the boat killing or drowning the Macdonalds.

Such of them as managed to reach the shore were killed or drowned by those of the Kintail men who went ashore, not a soul out of the sixty men on board the galley having managed to escape, except Angus Macdonald himself, still breathing, though he had been wounded twice in the head and once in the body. He was yet alive when they took him aboard their galley, but he died before the morning. Hearing the uproar, several of the Lochalsh people went out with all speed in two small boats, under the command of Dugall MacMhurchaidh Matthewson, to take part in the fray ; but by the time they arrived few of Macdonald's followers were alive. Thus ended the career of Angus, younger of Glengarry, a warrior to whom his followers looked up, and whom they justly regarded as a bold and intrepid leader, though greatly deficient in prudence and strategy.

The remainder of Macdonald's fleet, to the number of twenty-one, following behind his own galley, having heard the uproar, returned to Kyleakin in such terror and confusion that each thought his nearest neighbour was pursuing him. Landing in Strathardale, they left their boats "and their ill-cooked beef to these hungry gentlemen," and before they slept they arrived in Sleat, from whence they were sent across to the mainland in the small boats of the laird.

The great concern and anxiety of her ladyship of Islandonain can be easily conceived, for all that she had yet learnt was the simple fact that an engagement of some kind had taken place, and this she only knew from having heard the sound of cannon during the night. Early in the morning she noticed her protectors returning with their birlinn, accompanied by another great galley. This brightened her hopes, and going down to the shore to meet them, she heartily saluted them, and asked if all had gone well with them. "Yea, Madam," answered their leader, Duncan MacGillechriost, "we have brought you a new guest, without the loss of a single man, whom we hope is welcome to your ladyship". She looked into the galley, and at once recognising the body of Angus of Glengarry, she ordered it to be carried ashore and properly attended to. The men

proposed that he should be buried in the tomb of his predecessors, "Cnoc nan Aingeal," in Lochalsh ; but this she objected to, observing that, if he could, her husband would never allow a Macdonald, dead or alive, any further possession in that locality, at the same time ordering young Glengarry to be buried with her own children, and such other children of the predecessors of the Mackenzies of Kintail as were buried in Kilduich, saying that she considered it no disparagement for him to be buried with such cousins ; and if it were her own fate to die in Kintail, she would desire to be buried amongst them. The proposal was agreed to, and everything having been got ready suitable for the funeral of a gentleman of his rank—such as the place could afford in the circumstances—he was buried next day in Kilduich, in the same tomb as Mackenzie's own children.

This is not the generally received account of Angus Macdonald's burial ; but we are glad, for the credit of our common humanity, to find the following conclusive testimony in an imperfect but excellently written MS. of the seventeenth century, otherwise remarkably correct and trustworthy :—"Some person, out of what reason I cannot tell, will needs affirm he was buried in the church door, as men go out and in, which to my certain knowledge is a malicious lie, for with my very eyes I have seen his head raised out of the same grave and returned again, wherein there was two small cuts, noways deep."*

After the funeral of young Glengarry, Mackenzie's lady became concerned about her husband's safe return, and was most anxious that he should be advised of the state of matters at home. She therefore despatched Robert Mac Dhomh'uill Uidhir to arrange the safest plan for bringing her lord safely home, as the Macdonalds were still prowling among the creeks and bays further south. He soon after sailed in Maclean's great birlinn, under command of the Captain of Cairnburgh, accompanied by several other gentlemen of the Macleans.

In the meantime, the Macdonalds, aware that Mackenzie

* Ancient MS.

had not yet returned, "convened all the boats and galleys they could, to a certain island which lay in his course, and which he could not avoid passing. So, coming within sight of the island, having a good prospect of a number of boats, after they had ebbed in a certain harbour, and men also, making ready to set out to sea. This occasioned the captain to use a stratagem, and steer directly to the harbour, and still as they came forward he caused lower the sail, which the other party perceiving made them forbear putting out their boats, persuading themselves that it was a galley they expected from Ardnamurchan, but they had no sooner come forgaist the harbour but the captain caused hoist sail, set oars, and steers aside, immediately bangs up a bag-piper and gives them shots. The rest, finding the cheat and their own mistake, made such a hurly-burly setting out their boats, with their haste they broke some of them, and some of themselves were bruised and had broken shins also for their prey, and such as went out whole, perceiving the galley so far off, thought it was folly to pursue her any further, they all returned wiser than they came from home."

"This is, notwithstanding other men's reports, the true and real narration of Glengarry Younger his progress, of the Kintail men their meeting him in Kyle Rhea, of my lord's coming from Mull, and of the whole success, which I have heard *verbatim* not only from one but from several that were present at their actings."*

Mackenzie arrived at Islandonain late at night, where he found his lady still entertaining her brave Kintail men after their return from Glengarry's funeral. While not a little concerned about the death of his troublesome relative, he heartily congratulated his gallant retainers on the excellent manner in which they had protected his interests during his absence. Certain that the Macdonalds would never rest satisfied until they had wiped out and revenged the death

* Ancient MS. The authors of the Letterfearn and Ardintoul MSS., give substantially the same account, and say that among those who accompanied Mackenzie to Mull, was "Rory Beg Mackenzie, son to Rory Mòre, of Achiglunichan, Fairburn and Achilty's predecessor, and who afterwards died parson of Contine, from whom my author had the full account of Mackenzie's voyage to Mull."

of their leader, Mackenzie determined if possible to drive them out of the district altogether. The castle of Strome, then in possession of Glengarry, was the greatest obstacle in carrying out this resolution, for it was a good and convenient asylum for the Macdonalds when pursued by Mackenzie and his followers ; but he ultimately succeeded in wresting it from them.

We give the following account of how it was taken, from the Ancient MS., slightly modernising the spelling :—" In the spring of the following year, Lord Kintail gathered together considerable forces and besieged the castle of Strome in Lochcarron, which at first held out very manfully, and would not surrender, though several terms were offered, which he (Mackenzie) finding, not willing to lose his men, resolved to raise the siege for a time ; but the defenders were so unfortunate as to have their powder damaged by the women they had within. Having sent them out by silence of night to draw in water, out of a well that lay just at the entrance of the castle, the silly women were in such fear, and the room they brought the water into being so dark for want of light, when they came in they poured the water into a vat, missing the right one, wherein the few barrels of powder they had lay. And in the morning, when the men came for more powder, having exhausted the supply of the previous day, they found the barrels of powder floating in the vat ; so they began to rail and abuse the poor women, which the fore-mentioned Duncan Mac Ian Mhic Gillechallum, still a prisoner in the castle, hearing, as he was at liberty through the house, having promised and made solemn oath that he would never come out of the door until he was ransomed or otherwise relieved." This he was obliged to do to save his life. But having discovered the accident which befell the powder, he accompanied his keepers to the ramparts of the castle, when he noticed his countrymen packing up their baggage as if intending to raise the siege. Duncan instantly threw his plaid over the head of the man that stood next him, and jumped over the wall on to a large dung heap that stood immediately below.

He was a little stunned, but instantly recovered himself, flew with the fleetness of a deer to Mackenzie's camp, and informed his chief of the state of matters within the stronghold. Kintail renewed the siege and brought his scaling ladders nearer the castle. The defenders seeing this, and knowing that their mishap and consequent plight had been disclosed by Duncan to the enemy, they offered to yield up the castle on condition that their lives would be spared, and that they be allowed to carry away their baggage. This was readily granted them, and "my lord caused presently blow up the house with powder, which remains there in heaps to this day. He lost only but two Kenlochewe men at the siege. Andrew Munro of Teannouher (Novar) was wounded, with two or three others, and so dissolved the camp." Another writer says :—"The rooms are to be seen yet. It stood on a high rock, which extended into the midst of a little bay of the sea westward, which made a harbour or safe port for great boats or vessels of no great burden, on either side of the castle. It was a very convenient place for Alexander Mac Gillespick to dwell in when he had both the countries of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, standing on the very march between both."

In 1603 the Macdonalds of Glengarry, under Allan Dubh MacRanuill of Lundy, made an incursion into the country of Mackenzie, in Brae Ross, plundered the lands of Cillechriost, and ferociously set fire to the church during divine service, when full of men, women, and children, while Glengarry's piper marched round the building cruelly mocking the heartrending wails of the burning women and infants, playing the well-known pibroch, which has been known ever since by the name of "Cilliechriost," as the family tune of the Macdonells. Gregory says, "some of the Macdonalds chiefly concerned in this inhuman outrage were afterwards killed by the Mackenzies ; but it is somewhat startling to reflect that this terrible instance of private vengeance should have occurred in the commencement of the seventeenth century, without, so far as we can trace, any public notice being taken of such an enormity. In the

end the disputes between the chiefs of Glengarry and Kintail were amicably settled by an arrangement which gave the Ross-shire lands, so long the subject of dispute, entirely to Mackenzie ; and the hard terms to which Glengarry was obliged to submit in the private quarrel, seemed to have formed the only punishment inflicted on this clan for the cold-blooded atrocity displayed in the memorable raid on Kilchrist." After this the two powerful families continued on friendly terms much to their mutual advantage, and that of the wide district of country over which they held sway.*

Angus, the eldest son, having been killed, and his father, Donald MacAngus, being now very advanced in years, the actual command of the clan fell to the second son, Alexander, known among the Highlanders as "Alastair Dearg". He appears to have been of a much more peaceable disposition than his brother Angus. He also predeceased his father, who being very frail and confined to his bed in his latter years, had, after the death of Alastair Dearg to hand over the actual command of the clan to his grandson Angus, or Æneas (son of Alastair Dearg), who was, in 1660, created Lord Macdonell and Arros.

That Alexander predeceased his father is clearly proved by an order of the Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, 3rd December, 1641, at the instance of William Mackintosh of Torcastle and others, for committing Angus, Donald's grandson, to Edinburgh Castle for refusing to exhibit several of his clan, named in the order, who had murdered Lachlan Mackintosh and William Millar within the burgh of Inverness, upon a Sabbath day named in the criminal letters issued against them. Angus was in Edinburgh at the date of the order, in which he is designed, though his father was still alive, as "the Laird of Glengarie, who is Cheefe Maister landslord to the saids rebels," and who "ought to be answirable for thame, and exhibite thame to

* Abridged from the author's "History and Genealogy of the Clan Mackenzie," where a full account of the burning and "Raid of Cillechriost," will be found pp. 157-162.

justice conforme to the laws of the countrie and severall Acts of Parliament". The applicants pray that the Laird of Glengarry be committed to ward in Edinburgh till the said rebels be exhibited to answer for the said slaughter committed by them, or else to take responsible caution of him to exhibit them "at a certane day vnder great soumes".

After hearing parties the Council decreed as follows:—

"Quhereunto Angus Macdonald oy (*ogha*, or grandson) to the Laird of Glengarie being called to answeyr, and he compeirand this day personally before the saids Lords, together with Lauchlane MacIntosh, brother to the supplicant. And the saids Lords being well and throughlie advised with all that was proponned and alledged be both the saids parteis in this mater. The Lords of Secreit Counseill, in regard of the knowne old age and infirmitie of the *old* Laird of Glengarie being neir ane hundreth yeers of age ; and that the said Angus Macdonald his oy (*ogha*, or grandson) is appearand heir of the estat, hes the management and government yairof, and is followed and acknowledged be the haill tennents of the bounds, and such as hes ane dependence on his goodshir. Therefore they find that he is lyable for exhibition of the rebells foresaids, men tennants and servants, to his said guidshir, as he would have beene if his age did not excuse him. And the said Angus being personallie present as said is, and this sentence being intimate to him, and he ordained to find caution for exhibition of the saids rebells, before the saids Lords in the moneth of Junii next, and to keepe the peace in the meane time, he refused to doe the same ; and therefore the saids Lords ordains him to be committed to waird within the Castell of Edinburgh, therein to remaine upon his owne expenss, ay and whyll he find the said caution, and till he be freed and releevd be the said Lords, and siclyke ordanis lettres of intercommoning to be direct aganis the rebells foresaids."

By an order dated 1st of March, 1642, he is set at liberty "furthe of the Castle," but to continue at open ward within "this Burghe of Edinburghe," Sir John Mackenzie of Tarbat having become cautioner for him. He was imprisoned in the Castle for "ye space of 13 weekis or thereby," and, in the order, he is again designed "Angus Macdonald, oy (*ogha* or grandson) to the Laird of Glengarie". This establishes beyond question that Alastair Dearg (as well as Angus Og) predeceased his father, Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, and that, although he commanded the Macdonalds of Glengarry during his father's life-time, he actually never was, and ought not to be reckoned one of the chiefs.

Hitherto we have not met with a single instance where *Macdonell* is used as the family name of Glengarry. It will be observed that during his grandfather's life-time the future Lord Macdonell and Arros was designated Angus *Macdonald*, and the first instance of *Macdonell* as a family name, in connection with Glengarry, is in the patent of nobility granted to the grandson and successor of Donald MacAngus, on the 20th of December, 1660. The name having at that date been assumed, we shall hereafter adopt it in connection with this family.*

We have already seen that Donald's father entered into an agreement with Grant of Freuchy that his son Donald, should marry Grant's daughter, and that Angus suffered seriously in consequence of Donald's refusal to carry out that engagement. She, however, appears to have been living and cohabiting with him in Strome Castle, Lochcarron, probably in accordance with the outrageous custom which then partly prevailed with some, of having their betrothed living with them on probation. The inhabitants of the district looked upon her, erroneously, however, as his lawful wife; and one of the charges made against him before the Privy Council, in 1602, was that "he lived in habitual and constant adultery with the Captain of Clanranald's daughter after he had put away and repudiated Grant's daughter, his married wife.† The author of the oldest Mackenzie MS. extant‡ refers to the same irregularity in the following terms:—"His young lady MacRanald's, or Captain of Clanranald's, daughter whom he had newly brought there (Strome Castle), and had sen away Grant's daughter." This would go far to explain the determination with which Grant decided upon punishing the father, and insisting upon the penalties provided for in the agreement between Grant and old Glengarry, failing

* Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A. Scot., M.P., has, in his possession, two documents signed by Glengarry, both in the year 1660, in one of which he signs "Angus McDonald"; in the other, "Macdonell".

† Letterfearn MS.

‡ The "Ancient" MS. of the Mackenzies.

the due solemnization of the marriage. It is only from this position of parties that any plausible foundation can be found for the charge made by the Clanranald champion in his letters to the *Inverness Journal* in 1818 and 1819, that Alastair Dearg was illegitimate, and that therefore the Glengarry line was in the same position as that alleged in the case of John Moydartach's descendants. For this charge, however, there is no foundation whatever, for it is admitted by all, including Clanranald, that a legitimate marriage had taken place between Donald of Glengarry and the daughter of Allan MacDonald of Clanranald. The only question which could affect that union is a previous legally constituted marriage with Helen Grant of Grant, and that no such union existed has been proved beyond any possibility of doubt. But it is scarcely worth while to discuss seriously the various charges made by the Clanranald champion; for he not only maintains that Donald, first of Scotus, was "Donald of Laggan," but that Alastair Dearg, the undoubted son of Donald MacAngus, and father of Æneas, Lord Macdonell and Arros, was the son of Donald of Scotus—the brother and the son of the same man at the same time. "Regarding Allister Dearg," he says, in his letter of 1st of October, 1819, "I admit he was the son of Donald of Laggan". He has been proved to be the son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair and brother of Donald first of Scotus, whom Clanranald calls "Donald of Laggan". Contradictory nonsense like this is almost beneath notice, but it was the only possible retreat that the champion of Clanranald could find from the false position which he had assumed; for he himself declares, when taken to task, that he never "attempted to insinuate" that Alastair Dearg's father, the real Donald of Laggan—Donald MacAngus MacAlastair—was not legitimate.

Donald married, first, Margaret, daughter of Allan Macdonald of Moydart, Captain of Clanranald, and granddaughter of the famous John Moydartach, with issue—

1. Alexander, known as "Alastair Dearg," who married Jean, daughter of Allan Cameron, XV. of Lochiel, with

issue—Æneas Macdonell, created a Peer of Scotland as Lord Macdonell and Arros in 1660, and who (Alastair Dearg having died before his father, Donald MacAngus), succeeded his grandfather as chief of Glengarry.

2. Donald, first of Scotus, or Scothouse, who married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, with issue—Reginald, second of Scotus, who married a daughter of Macleod of Macleod, with issue—"Alastair Dubh" Macdonell (whose father succeeded to Glengarry on the death, without lawful issue, in 1682, of his cousin, Lord Macdonell and Arros), and four other sons, of whom hereafter.

3. John, known as Ian Mor, from whom the family of Ard-na-heare, all of whom emigrated to America.

4. John, or Ian Og, whose descendants also went to America.

He also had a natural son, Angus, by Helen Grant, Freuchy's daughter, killed at Kyleakin by the Mackenzies. He was legitimated by the following Precept, and, had he lived, would probably have succeeded to Glengarry : — "Preceptum legitimationis Angusij McDonald Vc Angusij bastardi filij naturalis Donaldi Mc Angus de Glengarrie, Reliqua in comuni forma. Apud Halierudhous, decime quinte die mensis Aprilis anno dn'i millessimo quingentesimo octuagesimo quarto. Per Signitum."*

Glengarry married, secondly, a daughter of Macdonell of Keppoch. He died at an extreme old age—over a hundred—on Sunday, the 2nd of February 1645, the same day on which Montrose victoriously fought the battle of Inverlochy, aided by the men of Glengarry, under Donald MacAlastair's grandson and successor,

XVI. ÆNEAS MACDONELL,

Ninth of Glengarry, raised to the Scottish Peerage, in 1660, by the title of Lord Macdonell and Arros. We have seen that on the very day on which his grandfather died, the 2d

* Reg. Privy Seal, vol. i., p. 119.

of February, 1645, he had been engaged at the head of his clan with Montrose at the Battle of Inverlochy, his father, Donald, having died a few years previously. On this occasion he was accompanied by his three uncles—Donald, first of Scotus; John Mor, and John Og, all of whom were distinguished warriors, and steady supporters of the Stuarts. Angus Macdonell of Glengarry never left Montrose since he joined him, a young man, at the head of his followers, in 1644, in an expedition to Argyle, on which occasion they devastated and laid the whole of the country waste, and burnt and destroyed everything that came within their reach. From the 13th of December, 1644, till about the middle of January, 1645, they over-ran the country. The slaughter was immense, and before the end of January not a male person was to be seen throughout the entire extent of Argyle and Lorn, “the whole population having been either driven out, or taken refuge in dens and caves known only to themselves”. Glengarry adhered to the great Marquis throughout his distinguished career, Wishart declaring that he “deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose”.

He joined the Earl of Antrim in Ireland in 1647, where his regiment suffered a serious defeat. “When Antrim left Scotland, early in 1647, he brought with him a regiment of Scotch Highlanders, under the command of Angus Macdonald of Glengarry, not so much, perhaps, to employ them against his Irish enemies as to take them out of harm’s way in Scotland, where David Leslie was cutting off in detail the various fragments into which the Royalist forces had separated themselves after their great victory at Kilsyth. This Highland regiment under Glengarry soon got into trouble here also, for on its march to join the Cavanaghs in Wexford, and thus to assist in opposing the Ormondists, it was set upon by a superior force under Sir Thomas Esmond, and entirely defeated. Four hundred of Glengarry’s regiment were killed, with several

officers,"* and the remaining officers, including himself, were taken prisoners.

He was personally present at the meeting held in August, 1653, at Lochearn, to make the arrangements preliminary to Glencairn's expedition, and afterwards joined the Earl with three hundred of his followers. Among those present were the Earl of Athole, Lord Lorne, Lochiel, and several others. Lorne brought 1000 foot and 50 horse, but, in about a fortnight after, on the 1st of January, 1654, he, on some pretence, clandestinely left with his followers, taking the direction of Ruthven Castle, then garisoned by English soldiers, from Cromar, in Badenoch, where Glencairn's army was at the time quartered. Exasperated at Lorne for thus deserting him, Glencairn despatched a party of horse, under Glengarry and Lochiel, to bring Lorne and his followers back, or, in case of refusal, to attack them. Glengarry followed them up so closely that he overtook them within half-a-mile of Ruthven Castle. Lorne escaped with some of his horse, but Glengarry sent a party in pursuit, who overtook them, and brought about twenty of them back prisoners. The foot halted on a hill near the castle, and agreed to return to the camp ; but Glengarry, who had a strong antipathy to the whole Campbell race since the wars of Montrose, determined, contrary to his instructions, to attack them, and would have done so, but for the arrival of Glencairn himself in time to prevent bloodshed, at the same time, however, directing that no proposals should be received from them with arms in their hands ; whereupon they delivered their arms, and Glencairn with some of his officers rode up and addressed them on the impropriety of their conduct. The result was that the Campbells declared their willingness to serve the King and obey Glencairn as commander, a declaration which both officers and men confirmed by a solemn oath ; " but they all deserted within a fortnight."†

* Macdonells of Antrim. Foot-note, p. 334.

† Graham of Deuchrie's Account of Glencairn's Expedition ; and Fullarton's History of the Highland Clans, p. 293.

In 1653 the exiled Charles granted Glengarry the following commission as Major-General :—

“ Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to our trusty and well-beloved Angus Macdonell of Glengarry, and to all others to whom these presentis shall come greeting, know ye that we, reposing trust and confidence in the courage, conduct, and good affection of you, the said Angus Macdonell, doe by these presentis constitute and appoint you to be one of our Major-Generals of such forces of foote as are or shall be levied for our service within our Kingdom of Scotland, giving you hereby power and authority to conduct, order, and command them, in all things for our saide service, according to the lawes and custome of warre, and as belongeth to the power and office of one of oure Major-Generals of foot ; and with the same to fight, kill, slay, and destroy, or otherwise subdue all opposers and enemies who are in present hostility against or not in present obedience to us,” [with the usual authorities, privileges, and rights belonging to Major-Generals, commanding all officers of inferior rank to obey him, while he is to obey all orders and commands from General Middleton, and all others his superior officers.] “ Given at Chantilly, the 31st day of October, 1653, in the fifth yeare of our reigne.”

In 1651, he was forfeited by Oliver Cromwell, for his steady and active support of the Stuarts ; but on the Restoration of Charles II. he was, as already stated, on the 20th of December, 1660, created, as a reward for his faithful services, Lord Macdonell and Arros, in the Peerage of Scotland, the honours being limited to the heirs-male of his body.* He subsequently made a formal claim to the chiefship, not only of the descendants of Reginald, being the whole Clanranalds, but to that of the whole Clاندonald, as male representative of Somerled and Donald de Isla, the common ancestors of the clan.

In 1665, the Macdonalds of Glengarry succeeded in foisting a serious quarrel on the town of Inverness, in which they curiously enough, in the end, managed to obtain the advantage before the Privy Council. The quarrel originated in a very simple manner at a Fair in the town on the 18th of August, 1665, as follows :—“ Upon the hill south of the Castle, the horse market stands ; and there being some women upon the edge of the brae, selling of cheese and bread, ready for such as could not go far to fetch it. One Finlay Dhu, a townsman, taking up a cheese in his hand,

* For Diploma see Reg. Mag. Sig., Lib. 60, No. 8.

asked what the rate of it was? This being told him, whether designedly or by negligence, he let the cheese drop out of his hand, and down the hill it runs into the river. The woman told him she would oblige him to pay ; he (a crabbed fellow) gave her cross language of defiance. One that stood bye, espousing the quarrel, held him fast, and took off his bonnet in pledge, until he should pay the woman. A relation of Finlay's challenged this man, as it was none of his concern. 'Yes,' said he, 'I am concerned as a witness, to see just things.' To threatening words they go, and from words to blows, till at length most of the hill market is engaged in a confusion. This alarms the whole town ; the guards are called, who come in arms, and Joe Reed, a pretty man, their captain, runs in betwixt the parties, to separate them. Several other gentlemen present offer their mediation ; but no hearing. Swords are drawn, guns presented, and some wounds given. Provost Alex. Cuthbert is told that his guards are not regarded ; he puts on a steel cap, sword and targe, causes ring the alarm bell, and comes straight to the hill, and many pretty fellows with him. The people cry for justice ; the guards, being oppressed and abused, let off some shot, and two men are killed outright, and above ten wounded. The noise is hushed, and matters examined ; the guard is blamed. The provost, in a fury, said he allowed and avowed what was done ; for, who durst disturb the king's free burgh at a market time? The highlanders keep a-brooding. Two Macdonalds were killed ; one Cameron, and one Philan died of their wounds. The open rupture was closed on both sides with a punctilio of honour ; but a revenge was promised and vowed. A great many gentlemen,—Fraser, Grants and Mackintoshes—offered to compose the matter, calling it chance-medley, and extenuating him that was the cause of the fray. The leading men of the Macdonalds present were addressed by the Magistrates, and civilly treated, with a promise of strict examination, and execution for the blood ; but, alas ! it was *post naufragium*, or, a pardon after execution, as the lost party thought. This

rupture burst out afterwards ; but the unhappy fellow that occasions the fray was shapen for mischief, being marked like a stigma, having one half of his beard white, the other half black ! Meanwhile, the wounded men and the dead corpses were all carried over to this side the Bridge of Ness (*i.e.*, the left bank of the Ness), as an odium to the town. Thomas Fraser of Beaufort concerned himself ; the parishoners of Wardlaw went into the town and transported the corpses to their interment at Kirkhill, very decently, and the other wounded men also that died. Of all which I was an assisting eye-witness."

In consequence of this affair combined with the fact that the town was always friendly toward the Mackintoshes, with whom the Macdonalds of Glengarry were continually at feud, the latter threatened to take ample vengeance on the burgh.

Their threats and boastings had been reported to the Town Council, who wrote to certain noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood for advice and concurrence. These gentlemen promised assistance, and the inhabitants were ordered to provide for able-bodied men, which were to be sent in from the country, for their defence. The Macdonalds, hearing this, proposed the following somewhat cool articles, as the basis of a treaty of peace :—

1. A covenant or bond to pass for entertaining offensive and defensive leagues, by which, if the town be invaded, the Macdonalds should come to assist, and *e contra*, the Town to send 100 men to assist them.
2. The Town to become liable presently in 100,000 merks Scots to them.
3. The town to quit their Superiority of Drakies, and to require no stent taxations.
4. The Council to swear upon oath, what persons did draw the Macdonalds' blood, to be delivered up to *their* mercy.
5. What arms, money, clothes, goods, cattle, &c., were lost, should be repaid to the Macdonalds, as *they* should depone upon the worth.
6. When any Inverness men shall meet Lord Macdonald's friends or followers, or any one of them, that the Inverness men shall immediately lay down their arms on the ground, in token of obedience.
7. The Town to pay what sums the Macdonalds and their people shall have spent, from the time they became a body, until they be disbanded.

To these articies the Council replied, "That upon the

Clandonalds' disbanding, they were willing to give hearing to indifferent (neutral) friends, being conscientious and indifferent men, to speak of such overtures as they found necessary, and expedient to be made use of; for removing hostilities and making a right understanding betwixt them".

The case was afterwards submitted to the Privy Council, and Commissioners were sent to Edinburgh with the following instructions:—

1. Ye are to prosecute that action against the Clandonald with all vigour, before the Lords of the Privy Council.
2. Ye are, with all your main and might, to defend the whole inhabitants of this burgh, from that criminal action intended by the said Macdonalds; and are to use all means possible, for vindication of this burgh, from their aspersions. For the better achievement thereof carry along with you the Town's Great Charter, where ye will find in the 13th line immediately following *insuper* your rights to the mill and hill whereon it was built, called Cannak Hill; together with your contract passed betwixt your town and Robert Waus for Drumdivan. Take along with you also the King's gift to Balquhain of Drumdivan, with his Charter to Robert Waus thereon, with the two Sasines on both.

The documents referred to point out the extent of the Burgh boundaries and privileges.

The case for the Town laid before the Council is as follows, and shows that the parties had old grievances to redress and bitter memories to strengthen their present differences:—

The Town of Inverness having always been cruelly oppressed by neighbouring clans, and in contemplation thereof, King James VI. by his Charter, hath allowed them very large privileges in defending themselves against these oppressions, and empowering their Magistrates to pursue and incarcerate, judge and punish such as shall make any insurrections amongst them, amongst other clans, my Lord Macdonald's (of Glengarry) men, both *in anno* 1641 and 1650, most riotously deformed the guard of the said Town and rescued the prisoners taken by them out of their Tolbooth, and lately in August last the said Town having appointed a guard in the horse-market, and the said guard having apprehended one of the captains of Clan Ranald's men who had committed a riot, whilst they were carrying him to the Tolbooth, they were followed by three of the Lord Macdonald's men, with drawn swords, most injurious threatening, whilst, in the meantime, the remanent part of the guards were invaded by others of the Lord Macdonald's men, and by them beat, wounded, and disarmed; and the said guard being thereafter recruited by other two guards,—one Gilles-

pick Macdonald did wound one of the town's customers in the very middle of all their guards, and having run into his own party and clan who were gathered together, within a musket shot to the said guard, to the number of one hundred or thereby, five of the townsmen did, most civilly, go towards the said company to demand the said Gillespick to be delivered to justice ; but such was the fury of that clan, that they did most violently set upon these five persons, and had murdered them, if the guard and townsmen had not immediately run for their defence, and, notwithstanding of that assistance, the said Macdonalds did most riotously invade the said assistance likewise, and, having loosed many shots, they did, with one of these shots, wound a townsman, and kill one of their own old men, both parties being mixed by the confusion ; and albeit, they wounded many of the townsmen in the said conflict, yet did they thereafter convocate to the number of 700 men or thereby, and sent Angus and John Macdonald to demand of the town, one hundred thousand merks, a league offensive and defensive, the laying down of their arms whenever they should see my Lord Macdonald or any of his friends ; and that in sign of their submission, reparation of all their expenses, since they were convocated to a body ; and some other tyrannous propositions ; and because these were refused, the said ambassadors, as they termed themselves, did, in the public market-place, threaten the people that their army was upon their march, and that they would burn the town, and put the inhabitants to the sword ; whereby the said inhabitants were so affrighted, that most of them removed themselves and goods ; and albeit the Earl of Moray, Sheriff-principal of Inverness, did twice command them to lay their arms down and dissipate, yet they most contemptuously disobeyed ; and when, by the mediation of the Earl of Moray, 77 of their number were met with as commissioners for the rest, the lowest article they would accept of, was 40,000 merks, and the delivery of such townsmen to their mercy as did draw their blood.

By all which it is clear that the Magistrates of Inverness and inhabitants thereof acted nothing in this particular, but in defence of His Majesty's authority, and of their own lives, and, if they had done less, they might have been called in question for their negligence ; and the peace can be very ill secured, if Magistrates must stand still, and see authority trampled upon ; neither can it be thought by any rational man than the Town of Inverness could have any design to meddle with any such clan, except upon necessity ; and all their outrages being proven, as shall be done, if it be not done already, the said Magistrates conceive that all the wrongs, libelled by the said Macdonalds against the said Town, are not relevant, seeing, in effect, anything that was done by them, was done in their own defence, and in defence of the said authority ; and albeit the said libel be raised merely to trouble the said burgh, yet they are most confident that most of the particulars therein libelled cannot be proven, except most suspected witnesses be admitted, who are no way comparable to the probation led, and to be led, by the burgh of Inverness ; the same consisting of famous and

disinterested gentlemen, and the truth of the said proceedings, being attested by the Sheriff of the shire, is notour to all the country.

Whereas it is alleged, that the said Town invaded the said Macdonalds, without (beyond) their privileges, it shall be proven that their privileges extend two miles beyond that place ; and it is a most uncontroverted principle in our law that, Magistrates having begun to follow delinquents within their own territories, may most justly pursue them wherever they flee.

In respect of all which, it is humbly craved that the great loss and vexation of the said Town may be considered, all their trade being hereby destroyed, and the Town being deserted by its inhabitants, and forced yet to keep continual watches ; and that upon these accounts the Council would be pleased to provide for the security of the said place, for the future.

The Macdonalds succeeded in their action, and the Privy Council decerned that the town of Inverness should pay Glengarry £4,800 Scots in name of damages, together with the fees due to the surgeon who attended the wounded Macdonalds.

In 1666, the same Commissioners reported to the Town Council, that they were greatly prejudiced, hindered and crossed, by supplications and cross petitions tendered to the Privy Council, by some ill-affected and malicious neighbours, whereby they pretended and protested, to be free of all personal and pecuniary fines, to be imposed upon the burgh, for that unhappy tumult raised in August last, with the Macdonalds ; whereupon the Town Council resolved—"That the persons, protestors, and complainers to the Privy Council, viz., John Forbes of Culloden, Duncan Forbes, his brother, William Robertson of Inshes, T. Watson, A. Forbes, A. Chisholm, and W. Cumming, being ill-affected burgesses, should not in time to come, be received as Councillors of the Burgh".

There is an Act of the Privy Council, dated at Edinburgh, 18th of July, 1672, ordaining and commanding Glengarry as chief of the name and clan of Macdonald, to be answerable for the peace of the clan, as follows :—

The Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, considering that by the Laws and Acts of Parliament of the realm, Chieftannes of Clannes are obliged to find caution for their whole name and Clan, that they shall keep the peace, and exhibit and present them to justice, whenever they shall be called. In prosecu-

tion of which lawes the saides Lordes, ordaines and commandes Æneas, Lord Macdonald, as chief of the name and clan of Macdonald, to exhibit before the Council, upon the first Tuesday of October next, the persons under-written, viz.—Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch [and 12 others whose names are given], and to find caution for their men, tenants, servants, and indellers upon their lands, rouses, and possessiones and the hail persons descended of their families, that they shall commit no murder, deforcement of messingers, reiff thefts, receipt of thefts, depredations, open and avowed fyre raisings and deidly feids, and any other deeds contrar to the Acts of Parliament ; with this provision, that the generality of the said band shall not infer against them or their cautioners an obligation to remove from their present possessiones of such lands possesst by them as belongs to the Laird of Mackintosche, they being willing to pay therefor, as the same has been set thes many yeirs bigane ; and until the said day that the said caution be found ; the said Lords ordains the Lord Macdonald to be answerable, and give bonds for the saidis persones that they shall keep the King's peace, and not commit any of the crimes foresaid under the pain of five thousand merks Scottes money. And for the saids persons their further encouragement to compear and give obedience to the saids Lords, ordaines personal protection to be granted to them for the space of twentie days before and twentie days after the said dyet of appearance, not only for civill debtes, but all criminall causes whatsoever.

Those mentioned in the document, besides Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch, appear to be the principal Keppoch tenants, clearly showing that Lord Macdonell was held accountable for those of the clan outside his own immediate followers and vassals on the Glengarry property.

On the 20th of October, 1673, at Annat, a contract of Friendship is entered into between Lord Macdonell and Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, in which they bind themselves and their successors to "honoure, owne, aide, fortifie, concurre with, assist and defend" each other and their kinsmen, friends, defenders, and followers. "Forasmuch as both the saids parties doe seriously consider the ancient love, mutuall friendship and kyndness that have been observed and inviolablie keiped betwixt their antecessors," they proceed to state that "it is contracted, agreed, and condiscendit upon betwixt the parties afternamed, to witt ane noble and potent Lord Aneas Lord McDonell for himself and takeing burden upon him for the name and Clan of McDonalds as Cheeffe and principall man thereof, and for his remanent kinsmen, wassals, dependents and followers, on the ane pairt ; and the verie honourable Duncan

McPherson of Cluny for himself and takeing burden upon him for the heall name of Macphersons and some others *called old Clanchatten* as Cheeffe and principall man thereof on the other pairt.”*

He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, first baronet of Sleat, without issue. He died in 1682, when the representation of the family reverted to Ranald or Reginald Macdonell, eldest son of Donald Macdonell, second son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, eighth baron of Glengarry, grandfather and predecessor of Lord Macdonell and Arros, as follows:—Donald Macdonell, second son of Donald MacAngus MacAlastair, eighth of Glengarry, became first of Scotus, or Scothouse, and married Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, whose sister, Margaret, was married to his nephew, Lord Macdonell. By her he had issue—

XVII. RANALD OR REGINALD MACDONELL,

Second of Scotus (alive in 1695), who became tenth of Glengarry, as above, and married a daughter of Macleod of Macleod, with issue—

1. Alastair Dubh Macdonell, his heir and successor.
2. Angus or Æneas, on whom his father settled the lands and barony of Scotus; his eldest brother, Alastair Dubh, succeeding to Glengarry only. His descendants, since 1868, claim to represent the male line, and to have succeeded to the chiefship of Glengarry.

3. John, progenitor of the Macdonells of Lochgarry, who married Helen, daughter of Donald Cameron of Lochiel, with issue—DONALD MACDONELL, II. of Lochgarry, who married Isabella Gordon of Glenlivet, with issue—(1) John, died unmarried; (2) ALEXANDER MACDONELL, III. of Lochgarry; and (3) Peter, who died young. Alexander became a General in the Portuguese service, and married Dona Maria Zosé da Costa, daughter of the tenth Count of Soure, with issue—ANTHONY MACDONELL, IV.

* Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis.

of Lochgarry, who married Cassandra Eliza Macdonald, daughter of Major Ross Darby, and heiress of Angus Macdonald of the Grange, Brompton, with issue—ALEXANDER ANTHONY MACDONELL, V. of Lochgarry, a Colonel in the Indian Army, who married Margaret Jane, daughter of Lachlan Maclean, with issue—(1) ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, VI. and present representative of the family ; (2) Harry Edward ; (3) Sophia Adelaide Hastings ; (4) Flora Lindsay.*

* The following curious note is supplied by a member of the family :—Donald Macdonald of Lochgarry was between 50 and 60 when he fled with Charles Edward to France. He was followed shortly after by his wife, Isabel Gordon, and her three sons. She escaped in the disguise of a clansman from Lochgarry, as the butcher Cumberland and his troops broke through the gates and burnt the old castle to the ground, afterwards seizing and destroying all the surrounding lands. Donald placed his two oldest sons in the Scotch Guard (Ogilvie's), and the youngest in the Swiss Guard. He, himself, continued to live near Charles Edward in Paris, always retaining the full Highland costume, and, from his beauty and martial bearing, was the cynosure of all eyes, even in those days of manliness. On one occasion, while dining in a Paris Café, he overheard seven Frenchmen at a distant table deriding the young Chevalier and the half-clad savages he had brought with him. In an instant his glass was shattered at the head of one, and his dirk thrown in the midst of all. He then and there challenged the seven on the spot, and fought them one by one, killing or wounding all. His eldest son, Colonel John, after the disbanding of the *Garde Ecossaise*, began to pine after his native country, and, without telling his father, made his way to Calais, intending to embark for Great Britain. His father discovered his departure, followed him to Calais, and, finding him, resolved to pronounce on him the famous curse of Lochgarry, which has clung to the race ever since—"My curse on any of my race who puts his foot again on British shore ; my double curse on he, who of my race may submit to the Guelph ; and my deadliest curse on he who may try to regain Lochgarry". He threw his dirk after his son, and turned his back for ever on him he had loved the best. The old man died shortly after, in Paris, of a broken heart, living long enough to hear that Colonel John had made his submission ; had been given a full Colonelcy in the British Army, and the attainder of Lochgarry levied in his favour. His second brother, Alexander, would never consent to incur any of his father's curse, so he entered the Portuguese service, where he lived and died. The full weight of the curse fell on Colonel John, for, when he sought to inhabit Lochgarry, after he had built a beautiful modern mansion on the site of the burnt castle, his fine health began to fail, the strain on his nerves by living, as it were, amongst sounds of another world, or signs, as the tenantry said, "of the *puir old laird's wraith*" being amongst them. The ringing of bells, the knockings at the Hall door by unseen hands, the glimpses of a shadowy figure so haunted him, that he was forced to shut it up, and return to France, where he died shortly after, leaving Lochgarry (being himself unmarried), to his next brother, Alexander (of Portugal) and his heirs. But Alexander never took possession. Lochgarry House remained shut up till his death, in 1812, when his only son, Anthony, was brought from Portugal by his mother (a Portuguese), to enter the British service, and take possession. Neither he nor his young wife were able to continue to inhabit it, owing to the same unearthly sounds. He also died, when only 31, after having, unfortunately, sold Lochgarry, the attainder having barred the entail.

4. Donald ; married, and killed at Killiecrankie ; issue unknown.

5. Archibald, progenitor of the Macdonells of Barrisdale, now extinct in the male line.

Ranald or Reginald Macdonell, II. of Scotus and X. of Glengarry, was succeeded in the latter by his eldest son,

XVIII. ALASTAIR DUBH MACDONELL,

As eleventh of Glengarry. He was one of the most distinguished warriors of his day in the Highlands. We find him and his father among the very first who joined Viscount Dundee in the attempt to restore James II. General Mackay, who commanded the king's troops, wrote to several of the chiefs offering them large bribes with the view of dissociating them from Dundee. Among others addressed was Glengarry, who, in reply, heartily despising the bribe, advised Mackay in return to imitate the conduct of General Monk by restoring King James. Alastair (his father being aged and frail,) joined Dundee "on the appointed day," the 18th of May, 1689, in Lochaber, with 300 of his followers, soon followed by Clanranald, Appin, and Glencoe, with about 400 men between them. Soon after Lochiel arrived at the head of 600, while Keppoch followed with 200 more. From this place Montrose wrote his famous letter, dated Moy, June 23, 1689, to Macleod of Macleod, in which he says "Glengaire gave me account of the subject of a letter he received from you ; I shall only tell yow, that if you hasten not to land your men, I am of opinion you will have little occasion to do the king great service" ; so sanguine was he of the prospects of the campaign. The particulars leading up to the Battle of Killiecrankie are sufficiently well-known. In the centre were placed, under Dundee's own immediate command the Macdonells of Glengarry and Clanranald, with the Camerons, an Irish regiment, and a troop of horse, under the command of Sir William Wallace. In the first charge they were met by a brisk fire from some of Mackay's

troops, by which no less than sixteen gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell to rise no more. Nothing daunted, however, the Highlanders steadily advanced in face of the enemy's fire, until, having come to close quarters, they made a momentary halt, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, with scarcely any effect, they set up a loud shout and rushed with their claymores right in among the enemy before they had time to fix their bayonets. The result is already known. The enemy fled in utter confusion, thousands of them falling before the tremendous strokes of the double-edged claymores of the Highlanders, by which, in several cases, their bodies were literally cleft in twain. Alastair Dubh, still only Younger of Glengarry, performed feats of valour on this occasion, for which there are few, if any, parallels even among the Highlanders. "At the head of one large battalion towered the stately form of Glengarry, who bore in his hand the royal standard of King James VII."* The same writer describing the gathering in Lochaber on the 18th of May, says that "Macdonald of Glengarry, conspicuous by his dark brow and his lofty stature, came from that great valley where a chain of lakes then unknown to fame, and scarcely set down in maps, is now the daily highway of steam vessels passing and repassing between the Atlantic and the German Ocean. None of the rulers of the mountaineers had a higher sense of his personal dignity, or was more frequently engaged in disputes with other chiefs. He generally affected in his manners and house-keeping a rudeness beyond that of his rude neighbours, and professed to regard the very few luxuries which had then found their way from the civilised parts of the world into the Highlands as signs of the effeminacy and degeneracy of the Gaelic race. But on this occasion he chose to imitate the splendour of Saxon warriors, and rode on horseback before his four hundred plaided clansmen in a steel cuirass and a coat embroidered with gold lace."† The author of the

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. iv., p. 374.

† History of England, vol. iv., pp. 343-345.

"Memoirs of Dundee" informs us that, at the head of his battalion, he "mowed down two men at every stroke with his ponderous two-handed sword". He not only lost his brother Donald and several near relatives, but had also to deplore the death of his son Donald Gorm, so called from his beautiful blue eyes, a youth who had given early proof of prowess worthy of his illustrious ancestors, having on this occasion killed single-handed no less than eighteen of the enemy with his trusty blade.

In August following, the Highlanders suffered a serious defeat at Dunkeld, and losing all faith in their commander, General Cannon, they retired to Blair-Athole, where they entered into a bond of association, to support the cause of King James, and for their own mutual protection, and then returned to their homes. They are to meet at—in "September next," and to bring with them Fencible men—Sir Donald Macdonald, Glengarry, and Benbecula, 200 each, and Keppoch 100, while others were to bring more or less according to their resources. A few days after signing this bond they sent a characteristic answer to a communication from General Mackay, in which he asked them to address the government for such terms as would induce them to lay down their arms. In reply they say, "that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send us no assistance at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign."*

General Buchan meanwhile joined Cannon, and the two, finding themselves unable to oppose General Mackay, after wandering for a time through the country, dismissed their few remaining followers. Buchan, Lieutenant Graham, Sir George Barclay, and other officers, retired to Glengarry's

* Parliamentary Records.

residence, where they remained for a considerable time, partaking of his hospitality, and still entertaining some hope, however frail, of the restoration of King James, in whose interest they were prepared to enter upon any service, however hopeless and hazardous. General Cannon and his officers retired with Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, receiving similar treatment from him as those did who went to Glengarry, and entertaining the same hopes of Stuart restoration and courtly favour.

On the 27th of August, 1691, a proclamation was issued by the government promising an indemnity to all who would make their submission and swear allegiance to the government by the first of January, 1692, and all the chiefs, except MacIan of Glencoe, gave in their adherence within the time prescribed. By a special agreement, with the government, Generals Buchan and Cannon, were sent to France, whither, as elsewhere stated, they obtained permission from James to retire, as they could be of no further service to him in their native land.

It is unnecessary to detail at any length the various incidents and the state of feeling prevailing among the Highlanders which, in 1715, culminated in the battle of Sheriffmuir. Alexander of Glengarry was one of those who signed a letter to the Earl of Mar, expressing loyalty to King George, stating that "as we were always ready to follow your directions in serving Queen Anne, so we will now be equally forward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving King George. The other signatures to this document are Maclean, Lochiel, Keppoch, Sleat, Mackintosh, Fraserdale, Macleod of Contulich, Glenmoriston, Comar, and Cluny. Notwithstanding these professions of loyalty to King George, Glengarry was among the great chiefs who soon after met at the pretended grand hunting match in Braemar, on the 27th of August, 1714, to arrange with Mar as to raising the standard of rebellion in favour of the Chevalier. A warrant for his apprehension, with many others of the Highland chiefs, was issued by the government, but though Sir Donald Macdonald of

Sleat, and several others were apprehended and committed prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh, Glengarry escaped capture. He appeared at Sheriffmuir at the head of 500 Glengarry Macdonalds, where he greatly distinguished himself, as did indeed all the Macdonalds, of whom there were nearly 3000 in the field, under the chief command of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. Patten informs us that "all the line to the right, being of the clans led on by Sir Donald Macdonald's brothers, Glengarry, captain of Clan-Ranald, Sir John Maclean," and several others whom he names, "made a most furious attack, so that in seven or eight minutes we could neither perceive the form of a squadron or battalion of the enemy before us".* Referring to Glengarry, he says: "this gentleman was inferior to none in bravery". After Sheriffmuir the Highlanders retired to the North. On the final suppression of the rebellion, Alexander of Glengarry made his submission to General Cadogan at Inverness, and on the 15th of September, 1725, all his followers peaceably surrendered their arms to General Wade at the barracks of Fort-Augustus, and received pardon for the part they had taken in the rebellion of 1715.

After Sheriffmuir he was created a Peer of Parliament, by the Chevalier St. George, styling himself James VIII. of Scotland, by patent dated 9th of December, 1716. He married first, Anne, daughter of Hugh, Lord Lovat, with issue, an only daughter,

1. Anne, who married Roderick Mackenzie, IV. of Applecross.

He married secondly, Mary, daughter of Kenneth Mor Mackenzie, third Earl of Seaforth, with issue—

2. Donald Gorm who so greatly distinguished himself at Killiecrankie, where he fell gloriously after having killed eighteen of the enemy with his broadsword. He died unmarried.

3. John, who succeeded his father;

4. Randolph; and several others.

* History of the Rebellion.

Alastair Dubh Macdonell, one of the most distinguished Chiefs of Glengarry, died in 1724, when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XIX. JOHN MACDONELL,

Twelfth of Glengarry, who obtained a charter to himself and his heirs-male, dated 27th of August, 1724, of the lands of Knoydart, from John, Duke of Argyll, whose grandfather evicted these lands by a legal process from Æneas, Lord Macdonell and Arros. Under this destination the lands of Knoydart descended to his son, Alexander, and on his death, without issue, to his nephew, Duncan, John's grandson—son and next heir of Colonel Æneas Macdonell, John's second son, killed in the streets of Falkirk while in command of two battalions of his clan, who fought gallantly and with effect on the right wing of Prince Charlie's army. Duncan himself took no part in the rebellion of 1745, but his second son, Angus, a youth only nineteen years of age, led two battalions of his retainers to the standard of the Prince, commanded respectively by Lieut-Colonel Macdonell of Lochgarry and Lieut-Colonel Macdonell of Barrisdale, both holding rank under himself.* Alastair, the eldest son, was chosen by the other Highland Chiefs to carry an address to the Prince in France, and signed by their blood. Having missed his Royal Highness, who in the interval started for Scotland, he was taken prisoner, and detained in the Tower of London until after Culloden, though he was at the time an officer in the French

† Amongst many who declared for the Chevalier a cautious policy was adopted. In cases where the head of a family and proprietor of an estate went out, he would previously make over his property to his eldest son, who remained at home in possession. When the father, on the contrary, was averse to active partisanship, a son went out, with all the forces, both in the way of men and money, which the house could contribute, assured that, although the youth shall fall or be attainted, he had still brothers to inherit the patrimonial property for behoof of the family. Some of the Highland gentlemen themselves saw fit to adopt this policy. The Macdonalds of Clanranald and also those of Glengarry, were led out by the sons of their respective chiefs.—Chambers' History of the Rebellion, Foot-note, p. 137.

Guard. The manner in which the Macdonalds of Glengarry distinguished themselves on this occasion by their ancient loyalty and valour is too well known to require extended notice.

We may however be permitted to say that the Glengarry Macdonalds had a share with Macdonald of Tiendrish in the capture of Captain Scott and his party of two companies—the first taken by Prince Charlie's army—near the head of Loch Lochy. In the Edinburgh *Mercury* of 28th October, 1745, we are informed that "Saturday last, his Royal Highness the Prince reviewed the Macdonells of Glengarry at Musselburgh; when they made a most noble appearance," of whom about three hundred were in the Highland army. The rear guard, in the retreat from England, was partly composed of the Glengarry men, where they performed special and very valuable service. On one occasion, at Clifton Hall, they alone completely routed, with great intrepidity, a large body of well-mounted English dragoons. At the battle of Falkirk they along with Clanranald and Keppoch, formed a portion of the first line, where they behaved with characteristic valour. They also formed a part of the front line at Culloden, but in consequence of their removal to the left wing on this occasion, which they not only resented as an indignity, but considered an evil omen—the Macdonalds, it was maintained, never having fought elsewhere than on the right wing, since Bruce accorded them that honourable position at the battle of Bannockburn—they, with the other Macdonalds, refused to charge the enemy. Chambers informs us that "the Duke of Perth, who was stationed amongst them, endeavoured to appease their anger by telling them that, if they fought with their characteristic bravery, they would make the left wing a right, in which case he would assume for ever after the honourable surname of Macdonald. But the insult was not to be expiated by this appeal to clanship. Though induced to discharge their muskets, and even to advance some way, they never made an onset. They endured the fire of the English regiments without flinching; only ex-

pressing their rage by hewing up the heath with their swords; but they at last fled when they saw the other clans give way. "From this conduct there was a brilliant exception in the Chieftain of Keppoch, a man of chivalrous character, and noted for great private worth."* It is not the fact, however, that the Macdonalds invariably fought on the right wing of the army, a well-informed writer in the "Celtic Magazine" [vol. ii., pp. 472-473], *re* the battle of Culloden, says, "one element of disaster to the Highland army existed at Culloden, which had never before previously occurred in modern times, and seems almost of itself to explain the discomfiture of the Highlanders, and that was the conduct of the Macdonalds, who because they were stationed upon the left in place of the right of the line, actually refused to charge, and left the field without striking a single blow for the cause in which they were engaged. Tactically, therefore, the field was lost owing to a large body of the defeated never having fought or attempted to do so, and that not through their having been prevented from engaging by being skilfully cut off from the opportunity of attacking, by the manœuvres of their antagonists, as occurred at Blenheim and elsewhere, but simply by their own misdirected ideas of military etiquette—an idea which seems the more absurd when it is borne in mind that at Killiecrankie the Macdonalds were stationed without hesitation or remonstrance upon the left of the line, where they did right good service. Be this, however, as it may, there is no doubt but that the Macdonalds who had, by their past history proved themselves upon the whole the most brilliant and successful of all the clans, forfeited on this fatal day by their unmeaning prejudices, the prestige which their previous exploits had so deservedly earned. It is also singular that the fact of the Macdonalds having formed the left at Killiecrankie is never once alluded to in all the commentaries and explanatory statements which have been made

* See Keppoch Family for fuller details of this chief's magnificent heroic devotion.

regarding Culloden. The only possible manner of allowing the Macdonalds to drop mildly is a lame one. It is, however, nevertheless true that the defeat, immediately after it had taken place, was not considered by the bulk of the army so fatal and decisive as the Prince's subsequent conduct rendered it; and the Macdonalds believed that they would have had an ample opportunity of rectifying matters at the next fighting day, when, according to one of the clan (*vide* a letter printed at the end of the Lockhart Memoirs), he stated that the Athole men would not refuse them the right on that occasion. The occasion, however, never arrived, and the stain upon the military reputation of the Macdonalds must for ever remain uneffaced, and, looking to their position on the left at Killiecrankie, actually unexplained."

After the irretrievable battle of Culloden, Prince Charles put up for a night in Glengarry's Castle, at the time deserted of its tenants, destitute of furniture and provisions, and in charge of a single domestic, entirely unfit for the accommodation and entertainment of a prince. The family mansion was afterwards, with many others, plundered and burnt to the ground by Cumberland's troops, who inflicted the most atrocious cruelties even on the common people and on helpless women and children. "In many instances the women and children were stripped naked, and left exposed; in some the females were subjected even to more horrible treatment. A great number of men unarmed and inoffensive, including some aged beggars, were shot in the fields and on the mountain-side, rather in the spirit of wantonness than for any definite object."*

John married, first, the only daughter of Colin Mackenzie, IX. of Hilton, with issue—

1. Alastair, his heir.

2. Æneas, a Colonel in the Prince's army, already referred to as the leader of the clan during the campaign of the 'Forty-five. He married Mary Macdonald, daughter of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, with issue—(1) Duncan,

* Chambers' Rebellion.

who succeeded his uncle as XIV. of Glengarry, and of whom presently ; (2) Angusia, who married Mackay of Achamony. Chambers describes the fall of Colonel Æneas Macdonell of Glengarry at Falkirk as follows :—The Highland army lost more this day by an accident than it did on the previous day (in the battle) by the fire of the enemy. A private soldier of the Clanranald regiment had obtained a musket as part of his spoil upon the field of battle. Finding it loaded he was engaged at his lodgings in extracting the shot ; the door was open, and nearly opposite there was a group of officers standing in the street. The man extracted the ball, and then fired off the piece, to clear it in the most expeditious manner of the powder ; but, unfortunately it had been double loaded, and the remaining ball pierced the body of young Glengarry, who was one of the group of bystanders. He soon after died in the arms of his clansmen, begging with his last breath that the man, of whose innocence he was satisfied, might not suffer ; but nothing could restrain the indignation of his friends, who immediately seized the man, and loudly demanded life for life. Young Clanranald would have gladly protected his clansman ; but, certain that any attempt he could make to that effect would only embroil his family in a feud with that of Glengarry, and in the first place, cause that regiment to quit the Prince's army, he was reluctantly obliged to assent to their demand. The man was immediately taken out to the side of a bank wall near the town, and pierced with a volley of bullets. His own father put a shot into his body, from the desire to make his death as instantaneous as possible.*

Glengarry married, secondly, a daughter of John Gordon of Glenbucket, with issue—

3. James, a Captain in the Army, whose daughter, Amelia, married Major Simon Macdonald of Morar.

4. Charles, who joined the old 78th or Fraser Highlanders, as Lieutenant, on the 5th of January, 1757, and distinguished himself under Wolfe in the American War.

* History of the Rebellion.

He soon rose to the rank of captain ; was wounded before Quebec on the 28th of April, 1759, and afterwards mortally wounded at St John's, Newfoundland, in 1762, after having attained the rank of Major in the Army.* If he was ever married, there is no trace of any of his descendants.

5. Helen, who married Ranald Macdonell, fifth of Scotus. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XX. ALASTAIR MACDONELL,

Thirteenth of Glengarry, who in a General Retour, dated 2nd of February, 1758, before the baillies of Inverness and a Respectable Jury, is described :—" Qui Jurati Dicunt magno sacramento interveniente quod quondam Donaldus MacAngus vic Alister de Glengary Attavus Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary latoris de presentium filii quondam Joannis Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius demortui Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius Ronaldi Macdonell de Glengary qui fuit filius Donaldi Macdonell de Scotus, qui fuit filius natu secundus dicti Donaldi MacAngus vic Alister obiit," &c. " Et quod dictus Alexander Macdonell nunc de Glengary est Legitimus et propinquior hæres masculis dicti quondam Donaldi MacAngus vic Alister sui attavi," &c. There is another Retour, of the same date and place, and before the same parties, proceeding ;—" Qui Jurati Dicunt magno sacramento interveniente quod quondam Æneas Dominus Macdonell de Arros filius fratris abavi Alexanderi Macdonell," &c., &c., the same as above, and concluding, " Donaldi Macdonell de Scotus fratri natu secundi Alexandri Macdonell de Glengary patris dicti quondam Æneæ Domini Macdonell de arros obiit," &c. " Et quod dictus Alexander Macdonell nunc de Glengary est legitimus et propinquior hæres masculus dicti quondam Æneæ Domini Macdonell de arros ejus filii fratus abavii." He was, as already stated, chosen by the Highland chiefs to carry an address to Prince Charles, signed

* Fullarton's History of the Highland Regiments.

by their blood, giving assurance of their fidelity, though his father was then living, but advanced in years. On his return he was met and overpowered by two English men-of-war, and after a hot fight he was obliged to surrender; for, the inflexible attachment and loyalty of the family to the House of Stuart, and his own military talents and influence among the Highlanders being well known to the government, he was kept in the Tower of London till after the 'Forty-five.

He died unmarried in 1761, when he was succeeded by his nephew, the only son of Colonel Æneas Macdonell who fell at Falkirk,

XXI. DUNCAN MACDONELL,

Fourteenth of Glengarry, who married Marjory, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant, Bart. of Dalvey, with issue—

1. Alastair Ranaldson, his heir.
2. Lewis, a Captain in the Army, who died unmarried.
3. James, afterwards knighted and made a K.C.B. for distinguished services; became a Lieutenant-General in the Army; Principal Equerry to the Queen Dowager; highly distinguished at Maida, Egypt, and Waterloo. He particularly distinguished himself at the defence of Hougoumont, where, assisted only by one sergeant of the Guards, he slew or drove back six French Grenadiers, who had found their way into the court-yard. He died, unmarried, in 1857.
4. Angus, who died in infancy.
5. Somerled, died at Curacoa, in the West Indies, unmarried.
6. Elizabeth, who first married 12th March, 1795, William Chisholm of Chisholm, with issue—(1) Alexander William Chisholm, born in 1810; (2) Duncan Macdonell Chisholm, both of whom succeeded each other in Strathglass; (3) Jemima, who married Mr. Chisholm Batten of Aigais and Thornfalcon, with issue.

Elizabeth married, secondly, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Bart. of Balmain.

7. Sibella, who died young.

8. Margaret Isobel, who married Major Downing, killed during the Peninsular War, with issue—one son, George Downing, Captain in the Madras Army, who married Margaret, daughter of Coll Macdonald of Dalness, W.S., by whom he had issue—an only child, Elizabeth Margaret Downing Macdonald, who married Dugald Stuart, eldest son of the late Right Honourable Sir John Stuart of Ballochulish and Lochcarron, Vice-Chancellor.

On the 30th of April, 1788, being legally vested in Glengarry and Knoydart, Duncan made a new destination of his whole estates in favour of certain heirs, of whom his eldest son, explicitly so designed, was the institute. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXII. ALASTAIR RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Fifteenth of Glengarry, who may truly be called the last specimen of the Highland chiefs of history, and is said to have been, in the most favourable features of his character, Scott's original for Fergus MacIvor. It is impossible to chronicle here in detail the various incidents of his remarkable and interesting career. He on all occasions wore the Highland dress, and adhered to the style of living of his ancestors, and, when away from his Highland home, was invariably accompanied by a body of his retainers in full Highland costume. They were at the time generally known as "Glengarry's tail". These were regularly posted as sentinels at his door. He appeared at the grand reception given to George IV. during his visit to Edinburgh in 1822, accompanied by a small but select following of twelve of the leading gentlemen of the House of Glengarry, including his brother, Colonel (afterwards General) Macdonell of Hougomont celebrity, Scotus, Barrisdale, and other leading men. According to the newspaper reports of

the time, "each had a gillie in attendance—tall, raw-boned, swarthy fellows—who, besides the sword and target, carried guns of portentous length. We believe they are chiefly the foresters of the chieftain; and indeed they look as if they had done nothing all their lives, but lived by hunting, and slept in the woods."

His attempts to maintain, in his own peculiar manner, the ancient customs of Highland chieftainship cost him so much that he was forced to burden the estate to an extent which necessitated its transference by his successor to other and strange hands. When visiting his friends in Lochaber, he would march from Invergarry to Fort William in full Highland dress, with eagle feathers in his Glengarry bonnet, "followed by his tail," while Ailean Dall, his family bard, in full professional costume, was prepared with a bardic oration at the end of the journey.

He appears to have had among his tenants a prototype, on a small scale, of *Coinneach Odhar Fiosaiche*—the Brahan Seer—who occasionally indulged in the luxury of predicting future events; and on one occasion he declared that when the high road would be made round a certain well-known hill, the Macdonalds of Glengarry would disappear from the land of their ancestors. Glengarry hearing of the vaticinations of *Alastair a Bhrochdair*—for such was his local designation—sent for him and questioned him about his prediction, but Alastair declined to answer. The chief drew his dirk and threatened instant consequences unless Alastair at once replied to his interrogations. The "prophet"—an old soldier by the bye—coolly answered in his native tongue: "A Mhic 'ic Alastair, cuiribh bhur biodag air a h-ais 'na truail. Bha mise latha dheth mo bheatha, agus thoinnidhinn as 'ur dorn i, agus mar a tha mi 'n diugh, tha mi 'guidhe oirbh na cuiribh thuige mi"—"Glengarry, replace your dirk in its sheath; there was a day in my life when I would twist it out of your fist, and I beseech you even now not to press me unduly." The chief made no further enquiries. Strange to say, the high road was shortly after constructed round that very hill, and

almost immediately thereafter the estate of Glengarry was sold to the stranger.

The friend who supplied this anecdote,* says of Glengarry that with all his eccentricity he was possessed of much reflection and common sense. Captain Duncan Macdonell of Aonach, Glenmoriston, was a great friend and admirer of his chief. The summer before his untimely death, Glengarry went across the intervening hills to Aonach to visit his friend, the Captain, and in the familiar conversation which took place between them, he addressed him thus—"Duncan, I have been thoughtless; I have been, as I thought, sustaining the honour of my ancestors; but now I see that I have been wasting the heritage that generations of them have left me. I must turn over a new leaf, I am determined to do it; I am going south by-and-bye to have this business definitely arranged"; and it was on this very expedition he was going, it is said, when he met with his untimely fate.

On the occasion of King George's visit to Edinburgh, in 1822, Glengarry claimed, as the representative of the Highland chiefs, to be with his "tail" in the king's body guard. This was granted; and it is said that when Sir Walter Scott, who had charge of the programme, proposed to swear in the Glengarry men, he requested the chief to explain to them in their native tongue the nature of the oath, when Glengarry replied, "Never mind, swear them in, I will be responsible for them, and will take my own time to explain to them; I am security for their loyalty".

His impetuous nature often led him to commit many acts which on reflection he bitterly regretted. At a Northern Meeting ball in Inverness, a lady present refused to dance with him. She afterwards danced with Norman Macleod, a grandson of Flora Macdonald, and then a young officer serving at Fort-George. Glengarry towered with rage, insulted Macleod, and caned him. A challenge followed; next morning Glengarry apologised, and offered

* The Rev. Allan Sinclair, M.A., Kenmore.

to do the *amende honorable*. Nothing less, however, would satisfy Macleod than that the haughty chief should undergo similar treatment—a sound caning—at Macleod's hands to what Glengarry inflicted upon him the previous evening. This, in cool blood, was out of the question; a duel with pistols followed, and Macleod was killed. Glengarry was afterwards tried for the offence before the Court of Justiciary at Inverness, and acquitted.

It was he who raised the controversy which raged so warmly in 1818 and 1819 with Clanranald as to the chiefship of the clan, to which we have repeatedly referred.

He married, on the 28th of January, 1802, Rebecca, second daughter of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart., by whom he had issue (with six sons who died young)—

1. Æneas Ranaldson, his heir.

2. Elizabeth, who married Roderick C. Macdonald of Castletirrim, Prince Edward Island, with issue—John Alastair, now a monk in Canada; Emma, who died young; and Elizabeth, a nun.

3. Marsali, who, on the 22nd of October, 1833, married Andrew, fourth son of Andrew Bonar of Kimmerghame, Berwick, with issue—two sons and two daughters.

4. Jemima Rebecca, who on the 5th of July, 1833, married Charles Hay, second son of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo and Fettercairn, Bart., with issue—(1) William Stuart Forbes, who (born 16th of June, 1835) succeeded as 9th Baronet of Monymusk and Pitsligo; now in New Zealand; married, with issue—three sons and four daughters; (2) Alexander Charles (born 15th April, 1837), in holy orders, married, with issue—one son and two daughters; (3) John Stuart (born 28th May, 1849), who joined the American Cavalry, and was killed in action in Montana, U.S.A.; (4) James Edmund Stuart (born in 1851), now in London, unmarried; (5) Emma, and (6) Emilia, both died young in 1849; (7) Elizabeth, who married the Rev. George Digby, without issue; (8) Henrietta, who married the Rev. Walter Hiley, with issue—five sons and three daughters; (9) Adelaide, who married the Rev. Francis

Traill, with issue—one son and two daughters. Mrs. Forbes now resides at Cheltenham.

5. Louisa Christian ; 6. Caroline Hester : both unmarried, and residing in Rothesay.

7. Guilelmina, who married Hugh Brown of Newhall, with issue—two sons, Horatio, and Allan Brown ; the latter in Australia.

8. Euphemia, who died unmarried.

Glengarry was killed on the 14th of January, 1828, attempting to get ashore from the wrecked steamer *Stirling Castle*, at Corran, near Fort-William, when he was succeeded by his only surviving son,

XXIII. ÆNEAS RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Sixteenth of Glengarry, who (born 19th July, 1818) married, on the 18th of December, 1833, Josephine, eldest daughter of William Bennet, grand-niece of the Right Rev. William Bennet, Bishop of Cloyne, with issue—

1. Alastair Ranaldson, his heir.

2. Æneas Robert, born in 1835. He was a distinguished student, having secured the highest prizes at Chatham. He was drowned in the Medway in 1855, in the twentieth year of his age.

3. Charles Ranaldson, who, on the death of his eldest brother, in 1862, became representative of the family.

4. Marsali, who, in 1869, married Hector Frederick Maclean, Edinburgh, without issue. Mrs. Maclean is now the lineal representative of the family, and possesses "Craggan-an-fhithich," with the ruin of the old castle (burnt by Cumberland in 1746) thereon, and the old family burying-ground, with other interesting family relics. These are all that now remain to the modern representatives of Glengarry of the ancient and extensive inheritance of the race.

5. Eliza, who, in 1857, died unmarried, in the 18th year of her age.

6. Helen Rebecca, who, in 1866, married Captain John

Cunninghame of Balgownie, with issue—John Alastair Erskine, born in 1869, and Helen Josephine Erskine. Captain Cunningham died in 1879.

This chief, who emigrated with his family to Australia, sold the greater part of the property, which was heavily mortgaged when it came into his possession, to the Marquis of Huntly, who, in 1840, sold it to Lord Ward (afterwards Earl of Dudley), for £91,000. His Lordship, in 1860, re-sold it to the late Edward Ellice of Glenquaich, for £120,000. Knoydart, the only remaining portion, was afterwards sold by trustees, when the vast territories of the race of Glengarry passed from them for ever, except the site and ruin of the old castle burnt in 1746, and the family burying ground, the keys of which are held by the present owner, Mrs. Maclean, Edinburgh.

Æneas Ranaldson, who thus sold the property so long inherited by his distinguished ancestors, was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

XXIV. ALASTAIR RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Seventeenth of Glengarry, born in 1834. He died, unmarried, in New Zealand, in 1862, when he was succeeded as representative of the family (his next brother, Æneas Robert, having died in 1855) by his second brother,

XXV. CHARLES RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Eighteenth of Glengarry, born in 1838. He married, in 1865, Agnes Campbell, eldest daughter of Alexander Cassels, without issue. He died, on his way home from New Zealand, in June, 1868, being (failing any descendants of Major Charles Macdonell, youngest son of John Macdonell, twelfth of Glengarry, who emigrated to America, and was killed at Saint John, Newfoundland in 1762), the last male of the line of Glengarry from

Alastair Dubh, son of Ranald II. of Scotus who succeeded to Glengarry on the death of Lord Macdonell and Arros in 1682. Some members of the family maintain that Major Charles Macdonell may have left descendants who have not been satisfactorily accounted for, and therefore they have hitherto abstained from acknowledging the succession of the descendants of Æneas, second son of Reginald II. of Scotus, and brother of Alastair Dubh Macdonell—ancestor of the late Glengarry, as chiefs.

According to this Scotus claim, which has been admitted by the Lyon King at Arms, on the death of Charles Ranaldson Macdonell, eighteenth of Glengarry, 28th of June, 1868, he was succeeded as representative of the family by his remote cousin [for descent see FAMILY OF SCOTUS],

XXVI. ÆNEAS RANALDSON MACDONELL,

Seventh of Scotus, and nineteenth of Glengarry, who died on the 24th of October in the same year ; whereupon (his eldest son, Æneas Ranald, having predeceased him), he was succeeded by his grandson,

XXVII. ÆNEAS RANALD WESTROP MACDONELL,

Born 5th December, 1847, as twentieth representative and present chief of Glengarry. He married, in 1874, Catharine Frances, only daughter of Henry Herries Creed, with issue—

1. Æneas Ranald, his heir, born 8th of August, 1875.
2. Alister Somerled. 3. Marion Lindsay.

THE MACDONALDS OF SCOTUS.

ON the extinction of the direct line of Glengarry from Ranald, eldest son of Donald, first of Scotus, the succession reverted to the representatives of Æneas or Angus, second son of Ranald, second of Scotus, and brother of Alastair Dubh. It has been already stated (p. 343) that, on the succession of Ranald to Glengarry, he settled the barony of Scotus on his second son,

III. ÆNEAS or ANGUS, on whose descendants the representation of Glengarry devolved in 1868, on the extinction of all the male representatives of his brother, Alastair Dubh Macdonell, of Killiecrankie fame. Æneas married a daughter of Sir Norman Macleod, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir.

2. John, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Greenfield, represented by John A. Macdonell, barrister, Toronto, Canada.

3. Allan, whose descendants emigrated to America, where many of them now remain.

4. Alexander, whose representatives are also in America. He was succeeded in Scotus by his eldest son,

IV. DONALD MACDONELL, who married, first, Helen Meldrum of Meldrum, with issue an only daughter—

1. Margaret, who married Alexander Macdonald, VII. of Glenaladale.

He married, secondly, Elizabeth Cumming of Conter, with issue—

2. Ronald, his heir ;

And, thirdly, Mary Cameron of Glen-Nevis, with issue—

3. Archibald, who became a priest.

Donald was killed at Culloden, when he was succeeded by his only son,

V. RANALD MACDONELL, who married, first, Helen Grant of Glenmoriston, with issue—

1. Æneas, his heir.

He married, secondly, Helen, (who died in June, 1793), daughter of John Macdonell, XII. of Glengarry, with issue—

2. Charles, a Major in the 72d Regiment, married, with issue—an only daughter.

3. Donald, Colonel in the H.E.I.C.S., who married Anne, daughter of Archibald Macdonell of Lochshiel, with issue—(1) Æneas Ronald, advocate, now of Morar, who married Catherine, only daughter of James Sidgreaves of Inglewhite Hall, Lancashire, with issue—Ronald Talbot, James Sidgreaves, Alister Young Crinan, and an only daughter, Catrina. (2) Donald, a Captain, N.I. of the H.E.I.C.S., who married Frances Eyre, with issue—an only daughter, who died young. (3) Ann, who married Captain Stott, 92nd Regiment, with issue. (4) Catharine, unmarried.

4. John, a Captain, killed in battle, unmarried.

He had also six daughters. On his first marriage, Ranald assigned Scotus to Æneas and his heirs, burdened with a small life-rent to himself. He lived to a great age. Coll Macdonell of Barrisdale in a letter dated, Auchtertyre, 28th of February, 1810, speaks of him as being then 85. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. ÆNEAS MACDONELL, who married a lady celebrated for great personal beauty and accomplishments, Anna, daughter of William Fraser of Culbockie.* By her Æneas of Scotus had issue—

* This lady's mother was also a Macdonell (Margaret, daughter of Macdonell of Ardnabi, a cadet of Glengarry), who married Fraser of Culbockie. She was a good Gaelic poet, and makes a prominent figure in the Ossianic controversy. Bishop John Chisholm, replying to the queries sent him by Sir John Sinclair regarding the Douay MS., refers to her as follows:—"Mrs. Fraser of Culbokie spoke of the manuscript to him on his return to Scotland, and told him she had taught Mr. Farquharson (the compiler of it) to read the Gaelic on his arrival in Scotland, in which his progress in a short time exceeded her own. She likewise had a large collection, of which she read passages to him when he could scarcely understand the Gaelic, and which escaped his memory since; the manuscript was

1. Æneas Ranald, his heir.
2. Angus, who entered the army and died young.
3. Helen Grant, a posthumous child, who married Colonel Kyle of Bingham.

Æneas died at Dunballoch, then called Beauuly-side, on the 9th, and was interred on the 13th, of December, 1792. Mr. Alexander Macdonell of Milnefield, writing to the Laird of Morar on the 27th of that month, says, "I can assure you that his interment was attended by gentlemen and commons, suitable to that attention he would expect if he was to witness that melancholy scene, and they were entertained in an elegant manner".

He was succeeded by his only son,

VII. ÆNEAS RANALD MACDONELL, who entered the Madras Civil Service, and afterwards settled at Cheltenham. The lands were heavily burdened, and his trustees finding it impossible to make both ends meet, though they cleared the glens of their ancient inhabitants and got a considerable rise of rent from the brothers Gillespie, sold Scotus to Glenmoriston early in the century, who however did not long retain it, re-selling the lands to Glengarry, with whose estate they have since been incorporated. He married Juliana Charlotte Wade, daughter of the Archdeacon of Bombay, with issue—

1. Æneas Ranald, who married Emma, daughter of General Briggs, of the H.E.I.C.S., with issue—(1) Æneas Ranald, who succeeded his grandfather as present chief of Glengarry; (2) John Bird, Lieutenant and Adjutant, 12th Regiment; (3) Jeanie, who married, in November, 1880, P. H. Chalmers, advocate, Aberdeen, younger son of Charles

in fine large Irish characters, written by Mr. Peter Macdonell, chaplain to Lord Macdonell of Glengarry, after the Restoration, who had taught Mrs. Fraser, and made such a good scholar of her: she called this collection a *Bolg Solair*." Mr. Farquharson, who lived for thirty years in Strathglass, scarcely knew any Gaelic when he went there, but he was greatly assisted in acquiring a knowledge of it by Mrs. Fraser, who was accounted the best Gaelic scholar in that part of the country. She taught him the language grammatically, learnt him to read and write it; and gave him a very high opinion of Gaelic poetry by the many excellent compositions in that language with which she made him acquainted. Mrs. Fraser's collection was taken to America, but it is not known what afterwards became of it.

Chalmers of Monkshill; (4) Charlotte Lindsay. He married, secondly, Mary, daughter of Dr. Johnson, with issue—(5) Angus.

2. William, V.C., a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, who married Annie Louisa, daughter of Captain Duff, H.E.I.C.S., with issue—(1) William Fraser, (2) Jeanie, (3) Julia Charlotte, (4) Annie Lindsay, (5) Helen Grant, and (6) Edith Isabella.

3. Thomas Munro, who died without issue.

4. Alexander Kyle.

5. Anna, who married Hugh Hamilton Lindsay, son of the Hon. Hugh Lindsay, grandson of the fifth Earl of Balcarres.

6. Julia Charlotte, who married John Bird, of the Madras Civil Service.

On the death of Charles Ranaldson Macdonell, the last of the male line of Glengarry from Alastair Dubh, eldest son of Ranald, second of Scotus, on the 28th of June 1868, Æneas Ranald Macdonell of Cheltenham, as above, became representative and chief of the ancient House of Glengarry, which see.

THE MACDONALDS OF CLANRANALD.

THIS family, the modern representatives of which claim to be chiefs of the whole Clandonald, was in many respects the most distinguished of the race. It produced warriors seldom equalled, and never surpassed even in the Highlands. We have already expressed our opinion as to the family claim to the chiefship, and gave some of the reasons which has driven us to the conclusion that the claim is not well founded. Skene, than whom there is no better authority, maintains that Donald, the ancestor of Glengarry, was the eldest son of Reginald of the Isles, and that Allan, the progenitor of Clanranald, must have been the second son. "The seniority of Donald," he says, "is distinctly proved by the fact that on the extinction of the family of Moror (descended from a younger son), the family of Moydart succeeded legally to that property ; consequently, by the law of Scotland, they must have been descended from a younger son than the family of Knoydart and Glengarry, and it follows of necessity that the latter family must have been that of the Chief."* That the family of Clanranald is descended from

VIII. REGINALD,

Or Ranald, eighth in descent from Somerled of the Isles and Thane of Argyll, is admitted on all hands, and the only question is, Whether Allan, the immediate progenitor

* For Skene's remarks *in extenso* on this point see pp. 291-298.

of Clanranald, was the first or the second son? His descendants now stoutly maintain that he was the first, and that consequently his immediate successors were chiefs of the whole Clandonald. This the reader must be left to judge for himself. Reginald was undoubtedly succeeded in a large portion of his extensive domains by

IX. ALLAN MACDONALD OR MACRANALD,

Second of Moydart, and other wide territories in the West Highlands and Isles, now impossible to define, as a considerable portion of his father's possessions went to the other sons. Allan fought at the famous battle of Harlaw in 1411, where he greatly distinguished himself, with his brothers, Donald, first of Glengarry, and Dugald, the latter of whom was slain.

Allan, according to the history of Clanranald,* married "a daughter of John, last Lord of Lorn, and brother of Dugald, Lord of Appin," by whom he had issue—

1. Roderick, his heir.
2. Allan, from whom the Sliochd Alain Mhic Alain of Knoydart, whose lands returned to Glengarry in 1613, and of whose representatives nothing is known.
3. John, issue extinct.

He died at Castletirrim in 1419, a few months after his father, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

X. RODERICK MACDONALD,

Third of Moydart, much better known among his Highlander countrymen as "Ruari Mac Alain". He was a man of great courage, and, very early in life, became distinguished for his valour and daring. He supported the Earl of Ross in all his contentions with the crown;

* Edinburgh 1819.

joined him in 1492, in his expedition against Inverness, when, according to the MS. History of the Mackintoshes, after the king set him at liberty, "he collected a band of men accustomed to live by rapine, fell upon Inverness, pillaged and burnt the houses". Roderick, in 1431, fought against the king's troops in Lochaber under Donald Balloch, on which occasion the Earl of Mar, commanding the Royal army, was wounded, while Allan, Earl of Caithness, was slain, and many of their followers put to the sword. The king's army was completely defeated and overthrown.* In 1455, Roderick joined in a Macdonald raid to Sutherland, when the party was defeated at Skibo by Neil Murray, and fled back into Ross. They soon, however, returned, and were met by the Sutherland men, commanded by Robert, brother of the Earl of Sutherland, on the sands of Strathfleet, "when ther followed a sharp and cruell skirmish, foughtin with great courage on either syd. In the end, Mackdonald his men were overthrown, and most pairt of them killed, either in the conflict or in the chasse, which continued long, even to the Bonagh."† Referring to this raid, the author of the "History of Clanranald" says, that "A severe engagement followed; the Macdonalds were ultimately defeated; but Roderick succeeded in saving most of his men, with whom he returned to Castletirrim."

He married Margaret, daughter of the famous Donald Balloch of Isla, Chief of Clann Ian Mhoir, with issue—

1. Allan, his heir.

2. Hector, or Eachainn, who obtained lands in Morvern, and became progenitor of the branch of the Macdonalds known as Clann Eachainn, of whom Neil MacEachainn of Flora Macdonald celebrity, father of Marshal Macdonald, Duke of Tarentum, the famous French general; Alexander R. Macdonald, Ord; his brother, Lachlan Macdonald, now of Skaebost, Isle of Skye; and many others, of whom hereafter.

* For full particulars of this engagement, see pp. 79-86.

† Sir Robert Gordon's Earldom of Sutherland, p. 74.

3. Margaret, who married, as his second wife, Alexander "Ionraic" Mackenzie VI. of Kintail, with issue—Hector Roy Mackenzie, progenitor of the family of Gairloch; and a daughter who married, Allan Macleod, the last of the original proprietors who inherited a portion of Gairloch.

We are informed in the family history that he married, secondly, "More, daughter of William Mackintosh of Mackintosh, by a daughter of the Thane of Calder". In the History of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, recently published, page 83, we are told that William Mackintosh, who "died at Connage in 1368," had by his first wife, Florence, daughter of the Thane of Calder, "a daughter, married to Ruari Mac Alan Mhic Ranald of Moydart". Considering that, *by his second* wife, this Chief of Mackintosh had five children before his death in 1368, it is scarcely possible that his daughter by the *first* marriage, could have been the *second* wife of Ruari MacAllan of Moydart (whose first wife was a daughter of Donald Balloch of Isla, a man alive in 1475), and whose eldest son, Allan MacRuari, was executed in 1509.

He died about 1481, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. ALLAN MACDONALD,

Fourth of Moydart, commonly called "Allan MacRuari". He was one of the principal supporters of Angus, the bastard son of John, last Lord of the Isles, in the battle of the Bloody Bay, between Ardnamurchan and Tobermory, where Angus defeated his father. He also accompanied Alexander of Lochalsh, in 1488, to the Battle of Park, fought with the Mackenzies, and in the invasion of Ross and Cromarty in 1491, on which occasion they collected a great booty, a large share of which went to Clanranald.* For this spoil Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromarty, obtained restitution against Kilravock, who also joined in

* Gregory, p. 66.

it, by Act of the Lords of Council, in 1492, for himself and his tenants.* Kilravock, however, soon after raised an action before the Privy Council to be relieved of the obligation laid upon him. On the 5th of July, 1494, the Lords of Council continued the summons till the 3rd of August following. On the 19th of May, 1496, there appears in the Acts of the Lords of the Privy Council a continuation of all the summonses in the case until the 3rd of July, except, *inter alia*, the one here referred to; and on the second of March, 1497, a decret is recorded ordaining "that the persons underwritten sall relefe and kepe scaithless, Hucheon the Ross of Kilravick, at the hands of Mr. Alexander Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromartie and of ye guidis underwritten". Among the names set forth are Allan MacRory of Moydart, Ewin Allanesone of Lochiel, and Ronald Allan MacRorysone—Allan's eldest son. In 1496, Maclean of Duart, Macian of Ardnamurchan, Allan MacRory of Moydart, Ewen MacAllansone of Lochiel, and Donald MacAnguson of Keppoch, became pledges and sureties "by ye extension of yair hands," to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, in name and on behalf of the king's highness, that each of them should be harmless and scaithless of others without fraud or guile, under pain of a penalty of five hundred pounds for each of the said persons.† In 1498, steps were taken to suppress a feud which had long existed between the Clanranald of Moydart and the Macdonalds of Sleat about the lands of Garmoran and Uist.

During the disputes between the Earl of Ross and Mackenzie, no one was more zealous in the cause of the Island chief than Allan of Moydart, who made several raids into Kintail, ravaged the country, and carried away large numbers of cattle. After the forfeiture of the Earldom of Ross, Allan's younger brother, supported by a faction of the tenantry, rebelled against his elder brother, and possessed himself for a time of the Moydart estate. John of the Isles unwilling to appear so soon in these broils, or, perhaps,

* History of the Mackenzies, p. 74.

† Acts of the Lords of Council, vii., fo. 39.

favouring the pretensions of the younger brother, refused to give any assistance to Allan, who, however, hit upon a device as bold as it ultimately proved successful. He started for Kinellan, "being ane ile in ane loch," where Alexander (of Kintail) resided at the time, and presented himself personally before his old enemy, who was naturally much surprised to receive a visit from such a quarter, and from one to whom he had never been reconciled. Allan coolly related how he had been oppressed by his own brother and his nearest friends, and how he had been refused aid from those from whom he had a right to expect it. In these circumstances he thought it best to apply to his greatest enemy, who, perhaps, might in return gain as faithful a friend as he had previously been his "diligent adversary". Alexander, on hearing the story, and moved by the manner in which Allan had been oppressed by his immediate relatives, promised to support him ; went in person with a sufficient force to repossess him, and finally accomplished his purpose. The opposing party at once represented to the king that Alexander Mackenzie invaded their territory as a "disturber of the peace, and ane oppressor," whereupon he was cited before His Majesty at Edinburgh, "but here was occasion given to Allan to requite Alexander's generosity, for Alexander having raised armies to assist him without commission, he found in it a transgression of the law, though just upon the matter ; so, to prevent Alexander's prejudice, he presently went to Holyrood House, where the king was, and being of a bold temper, did truly relate how his and Alexander's affairs stood, showing withal that he, as being the occasion of it, was ready to suffer what law would exact rather than expose so generous a friend to any hazard. King James was so taken with their reciprocal heroisms that he not only forgave, but allowed Alexander, and of new confirmed Allan in the lands of Moydart."*

It will be noticed that Alexander Mackenzie of Kintail, married Allan's sister, Margaret, as his second wife, but

* History of the Mackenzies, pp. 51-52, quoting the Earl of Cromartie's MS.

whether before or after these civilities between them, we are not able to determine.

In 1501, Allan was, with several others of the Clan, summoned before the Lords of Council to exhibit the rights by which he held his lands. He refused to attend, and on the 10th of December in the same year, a decree was pronounced against him and the others as follows:—The Lords of Council decreets and delivers, that the said Ewen MacEachainn, does wrong in the occupying of the lands of Ardtornish, in the Morvern; Allan Rory's son, and Alexander Allan's son in the occupying of the lands of Moydart, &c.; Allan Ranald's son, Mac Ian's son, in the occupying of the lands of Knoydart, &c.; and therefore ordains them to desist and cease therefrom, to be enjoyed, &c., by the king's highness.

In addition to his other possessions, Allan Mac Ruari claimed the whole of the district of Suinart as tenant under John Cathanach of Isla. He never obtained charters for his lands, though he ultimately became on very good terms with the king, to whose influence in the Highlands he latterly, in a great degree, contributed. His heir, Ranald, was actually in high favour at court, and succeeded, in 1505, in bringing a feud between his family and the Macdonalds of Sleat to a successful issue; for in that year, on the 23rd of August, he obtained a charter from John Macdonald of Sleat for the lands so long in dispute between them.*

He accompanied his father in a raid against Hucheson the Ross of Kilravock, and, his father having been in consequence summoned before the king and council, Ranald the heir had to be given up as a hostage for the father's future good behaviour. While in Edinburgh in this position he was highly esteemed by all who knew him, and it was on that occasion that he got so much into court favour. He is in trouble, however, in 1503, for in the Acts of Parliament for that year appears, under date of

* Reg. Privy Seal, vol. iii., fo. 15.

19th March, a memorandum by which it is declared that he and several others named have been "forfaulted" in their persons and goods. On the 23rd of August, 1505, he received a Precept "Viginto octo mercatis terrarum de Sleit cum castro et fortalicio de Dunskahay, et sexaginta mercatis terrarum in Capite Boreali de Ewest, cum pertinen," which had belonged to John of Sleat. On the 7th of June, 1507, the king addressed a letter to him and Alexander Macleod of Dunvegan, authorising them to let the lands of Lewis and Waternish, which were then under forfeiture—a further proof of the confidence at that time reposed in him by James IV.

Allan Mac Ruari was the dread and terror of all the neighbouring clans. He "had at one time three powerful chiefs as prisoners in his fortification of Castletirrim—Macleod of Macleod, Mackay of Strathnaver, and Mackintosh of Mackintosh. The two first had in all probability quarrelled with him for being in arms against John, Earl of Ross, but the cause of his disagreement with Mackintosh is curious, and strongly descriptive of the manners of the times. Mackintosh had built for himself a castle in an island in Loch Moy (now Moyhall). On the day on which he first took possession of this castle, he summoned all his friends and vassals to partake of a banquet at which an Irish harper (in those days constantly strolling about the country) was present. After carousing for a considerable time, and supporting the ancient hospitality of the country, he rose from the table, and, before retiring to rest, expressed his happiness at being now, for the *first day of his life*, free of the dread of Allan Mac Rory, of whom he *then* considered himself quite independent. The Irish harper, in the course of his peregrinations, went to Castletirrim, and reported the words of Mackintosh. This was sufficient to rouse the spirit of the chief; he immediately summoned his vassals and travelled by night and rested by day, till he came to Lochmoy; he had carried with him several boats made of hides, and easily transported; these he launched under night and stormed the castle. Mackintosh

was seized in bed, conveyed to Castletirrim, and kept in confinement for a year and a day. When he got his liberty, Allan advised him '*never to be free from the fear of Macdonald,*' and gave him one of his vassals, named Macswein or Macqueen, as a guide. This man was possessed of great prowess and personal strength, and Mackintosh prevailed on him to remain with him, and gave him a grant of the lands of Coryburgh, which his posterity at this moment enjoy. Some time after this, Allan required to visit his possessions in the Islands, and sailed from Castletirrim with one vassal only; he was, at the time, on the very worst terms with Maclean, the chief of the clan Maclean, and had been engaged in hostilities with him; he unfortunately observed him approaching with a fleet of ten sail, and seeing no possibility of escape, he ordered his men to stretch him out as a corpse, and directed them to bear down without any concern towards Maclean's squadron. On reaching it, his men communicated the melancholy tidings of the death of their chief, whom, they stated, they were conveying to be interred with his ancestors in Iona, and they were allowed to pass; but before Maclean's return, Allan had overrun a great part of his lands, carried away the most valuable part of his effects to Castletirrim, and laid west the country."*

Allan married, first, Florence, daughter of Donald Macian of Ardnamurchan, with issue—

1. Ranald, his heir, generally known as Ranald Bàn Allanson.

2. Alexander, "Portioner of Muidwort," whose son, John Moydartach, afterwards became Captain of Clanranald. Alexander, according to the History of Clanranald, married a daughter of Farquhar XII. of Mackintosh, described as a "celebrated beauty". In the recently published History of Clan Chattan, p. 169, we are told that a daughter of this Farquhar married "Alastair Mac Allan, captain of Clan-Ranald". Alexander's son, John Moydartach, is,

* History of Clanranald, pp. 82-84.

however, described as a "bastard" in that work throughout, and even in the Clanranald History it is curious to notice that while in all other instances the chiefs are said to have had their sons *by* their wives, in the case of Alexander, it is said, after describing the marriage, that "*He left* three sons and a daughter," of whom John Moydartach is named as one. It is not said that all or any of these were by his wife. This apparently slight but important distinction would probably escape the ordinary reader; but there it is, and it shows that the author had scruples in stating that John Moydartach was by Alexander's lawful wife.

Allan married, secondly, late in life, Isabella, daughter of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat, with issue—

3. Ranald Gallda, who fought and was overthrown at the Battle of Blarleine by his nephew, John Moydartach, when the latter became *de facto* chief and Captain of the clan.

Allan MacRuari was tried and executed before King James IV. at Blair Athole (where he was also buried) in 1509. This sentence is supposed to have been for the part he took in a raid upon Athole under Donald Dubh, who made such a stout claim for the Lordship of the Isles, already fully described.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XII. RANALD BAN ALLANSON MACDONALD,

Fifth of Moydart, who, as we have seen, took a prominent part in public affairs during the lifetime of his father. He was very popular, and much esteemed by his vassals, and is highly praised by the author of the Red Book of Clanranald, the family historian, for his excellent qualities.

He married "a daughter of Roderick Macleod, surnamed The Black, tutor to the lawful heir of the Lewis,"* with issue, an only son—

1. Dugall, who succeeded him.

* Hugh Macdonald's MS.—Collectanae de Rebus Albanicis.

2. Anne, who married, first, as his second wife, William Dubh Macleod of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg, with issue—an only daughter, who married Rory Mor Mackenzie of Acha-Ghluineachan, and by her became progenitor of the Mackenzies of Fairburn and Achilty. She married, secondly, her cousin, Hector Roy Mackenzie, first of Gairloch (second son of Alexander “Ionraic” Mackenzie, VI. of Kintail). Hector was tutor of his nephew, John Mackenzie, IX. of Kintail. By his wife, Anne of Clanranald, he had four sons, and three daughters, the eldest of whom, John Glassich Mackenzie, succeeded as second baron of Gairloch.

Ranald, like his father, was tried in presence of the king, and executed at Perth, for some unrecorded crime, in 1513, when he was succeeded by his son,

XIII. DUGALD MACRANALD MACDONALD,

Sixth of Moydart, who, for his extreme cruelty and crimes against his own kindred, became detested by the clan. He was in consequence assassinated, and his sons were formally excluded from the succession. He was married, and had several lawful sons. “Allan, the eldest son of Dougal, and the undoubted heir-male of the Clanranald, acquired the estate of Morar, which he transmitted to his descendants. He and his successors were always styled ‘MacDhughail Mhorair,’ *i.e.*, Macdougal of Morar, from their ancestor, Dougal Macranald.”* On the death of Dugall MacRanald, the command of the clan, with the family estates, was given to Alexander Allanson, second son of Allan MacRuari, fourth of Clanranald, and uncle of Dugall MacRanald, assassinated as above. This position Alexander held until his death in 1530. On the exclusion of Dugall’s heirs, Ranald Gallda, son of Allan MacRuari by Isabella Fraser of Lovat, became the nearest male heir, but he

* Gregory’s Highlands and Isles, p. 158.

seems to have taken no steps to assert his rights. This is perhaps not to be wondered at, for he and his friends might naturally conclude that if the clan passed over the nearest legal heirs-male—the sons of Dugall MacRanald—they might with equal justice at least refuse to receive and acknowledge as their chief, one whose claim was legally not so good, and whose reputation, in so far as it had reached them, was not such as they would admire in a chief of Clanranald. Indeed, once the clan had deposed the legal representative and heir-male, we do not see why they were not just as much entitled to choose the elder uncle Alexander and his natural son, John Moydartach, as they were to choose the younger uncle Ranald Gallda and his successors, who, so long as any of Dugall's lawful representatives remained, had no legal right to succeed, and of whom they knew nothing, as he had from his youth been brought up with his mother's family at Lovat, from which circumstance they called him *Gallda*, or the Foreigner.

Ranald Gallda was never married, but left three natural sons, Allan, John, and Alexander, all of whom received a charter of legitimation from the crown, dated 18th of June, 1555; and, on the 28th of January, 1562, Allan, the eldest son, received a gift of the non-entry duties of his father's lands of Moydart and Arasaig since his father's death in July, 1544. This Allan left one son, Angus, who, as we shall see, afterwards claimed and held the lands of Arasaig and Moydart, until he was dispossessed of them by Donald, John Moydartach's grandson, for which act he was forfeited and declared a rebel; but this sentence, on the death of the children of Angus—a son and a daughter—was soon after removed. The result of the Battle of Blarleine cleared the way from active opposition to John Moydartach, and left him in undisputed possession as Captain and actual chief of Clanranald of Moydart. How he conducted himself in that responsible and honourable position we shall now proceed to show.

XIV. JOHN MOYDARTACH MACDONALD,

Seventh of Clanranald, on the death of his father, Alexander MacAllan, who undoubtedly possessed Moydart, Arasaig, and stronghold of Castletirrim, obtained a charter of his father's lands from the crown, dated 11th February, 1531, in the following terms :—*Carta Joanni Mac Allestear, et hæredibus suis, de omnibus et singulis terris subscript, viz., viginti Septem mercat. terrarum de Moydart; triginta mercat. terrarum de Arisaik; Viginti una mercat. terrarum jacen. in Igk, et triginta mercat. terrarum de Skerihoff, cum pertinen. jacen. in Oest, infra vicecomitat de Inverness, quond. Alano Macrory, avo dicti Joannis et suis prædecessoribus in hæreditate ab antiquo pertinuerunt, et per ipsos ultra hominum memoriam pacifice possessuerunt, et quod ipsorum cartæ et evidentie earundum per guerram et perturbationis in provincia amissae et districtæ existunt. Tenend. de Rege, &c., Reddendo, &c. Servitium warde et relevii una cum maretagiorum contingerunt, cum clausula de non alienationis, absque licentio Regis, testibus ut in aliis, dat. Apud Edinb., 11th die Februarii, 1531.*"

The Glengarry champion in the controversy of 1818-19 says of this instrument, after stating that Ranald Allanson took out charters in his own favour in 1498 and 1505, that "a measure, so new and not so well understood, appears to have suggested the idea to Ean Moydartach to apply for a charter also—the better to secure him in his usurped possessions. He represented, but he represented falsely, that the lands were possessed by him and his predecessors past memory of man. He took no notice of the prior charters in favour of his uncle, which were on record. The crown was willing to get Highland proprietors to acknowledge a superior, and, without inquiry, granted, in the year 1531, a charter in his favour proceeding expressly upon such narrative. When, however, it came to the knowledge of Ranald Allanson that the charter was surreptitiously taken out, he, in his turn, made application for having it

recalled, and succeeded, and got the investitures renewed in his own person in 1540, and upon the ground that Ean Moydartach's infeftments were obtained *ex sinistra unjusta informatione*.* The Clanranald champion, in reply, admits the charge and says that "he (Ranald) took out a charter of the lands of Arisaig and Moydart on the 14th December, 1540. This charter undoubtedly recals a charter granted to John of Moydart in 1531, of the same lands, *which I have no hesitation in stating was improperly obtained.*" The words of the precept, dated the 13th of December, 1540, the day before the date of the charter itself, in favour of Ranald Gallda, are, "revocat, cassat, annullat, et exonerat, cartam et infeofamentum per ipsum per sinistrum informationem in nostra minori ætate Johanni Mac Alester, de predictis terris. Confectam et concessam." The charter itself is almost in the same words.

There is a summons of treason against several Highland chiefs, dated 26th of April, 1531, and "Johanne Mordordache de Ellanthorym, Capitaneo de Clanronald," is among the number. No serious steps appear to have been taken against him in consequence, for it is only ten months after, on the 11th of February in the same year, that he obtained the charter already quoted.† The author of the History of Clanranald informs us that, not appearing in answer to the summons on the 26th of April, the day appointed, it was continued till the 28th, and on that day it was again continued till the 26th of May. "Further procedure appears to have been dropped against him, most probably owing to his being reconciled to the King; for, having married Margaret MacKeane, a daughter of Macdonald of Ardnamurchan, he, in July, 1534, obtained from the crown a charter of the lands of Kildonan, Moy, and others in favour of himself and his spouse." The Kildonan named was in the Island of Egg.‡ The same writer says

* Glengarry and Clanranald Controversy, pp. 68-69.

† The year in those days began on the 25th of March, not on the 1st of January as at present, so that February is later in the year than April,

‡ Reg. Mag. Lib., 25, No. 141.

of the Precept of the lands in favour of Ranald, above quoted, that John "had no opportunity of showing that he had a lawful title to the lands, the king having at once reduced his charter, without any legal steps whatever ; and the consequence was that John resolved to maintain his title, and he actually did so in face of all opposition. The injustice done him he severely felt, and this feeling seems to have actuated him in almost every action of his life, for at no period does he ever seem to have been thoroughly reconciled to the king, or rulers of the kingdom ; and the battle of Blarleine, and consequent possession of immense estates and power enabled him, upon every occasion, to distress and harass the government."

John Moydartach, was a man of unsurpassed capacity and talent in diplomacy and war. His "mental endowments, with his great physical prowess, made him so popular that the circumstance of his illegitimacy was ignored, and on the death of his father he was unanimously elected by the clan to be their captain and chief—to the exclusion of cousins and his uncle Ranald Gallda, any of whom had legally a preferential claim. On the death of Allaster (second son of Allan MacRuari), which took place in 1530, his bastard son, John Moydartach, a man of uncommon talent and ability, was acknowledged by the whole clan as their chief ; and he even succeeded in procuring charters to the estates. These he possessed without interruption, till, with other chiefs, he was apprehended by James V. in the course of that king's voyage through the Isles in 1540, and placed in prison. Lord Lovat and the Frasers then bestirred themselves for the interest of their kinsman, Ranald Gallda, and made such representations on the subject, that the charters formerly granted to John Moydartach were revoked, and the lands granted to Ranald Gallda, as the heir of his father, Allan MacRuari. The existence of prior legal heirs (the sons of Dougal) seems to have been carefully concealed ; and, by the assistance of the Frasers, Ranald was actually placed in possession of the estate, which he held only so long as John Moydartach

remained in prison ; for immediately on the return of that chief to the Highlands he was joined by the whole of the Clanranald, including the sons of Dougal, and again acknowledged as their chief. Ranald, who had lost favour with the clan by exhibiting a parsimonious disposition, was expelled from Moydart, and forced to take refuge with Lord Lovat, who once more prepared to assert the rights of his kinsman. The Clanranald, however, did not wait to be attacked, but, assisted by Ranald MacDonald Glas of Keppoch and his tribe, and by the Clanchameron, under their veteran leader, Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, they carried the war into the enemy's country."* They soon over-ran the lands of Stratherrick and Abertarff, belonging to Lord Lovat, the lands of Urquhart and Glenmorrison, belonging to the Grants, and even possessed themselves of the Castle of Urquhart. They plundered indiscriminately the whole district, and aimed at a permanent occupation of the invaded territories. The Earl of Huntly was ultimately sent against them with a large force, among whom we find Lovat, the Laird of Grant, and Ranald Gallda. On the approach of this strong force, the Highlanders of Clanranald retreated to their mountain fastnesses, leaving Huntly and his followers to penetrate through the country without any opposition. Ranald Gallda was again, without opposition, put in possession of Moydart, while the lands were at the same time restored to those who were driven from them by Clanranald and their allies. Huntly now returned with his followers, accompanied, out of compliment, by Ranald Gallda. The Clanranald kept a close watch upon their movements, followed them at a distance, overtook them at Kinlochlochy, where the desperate Battle of Blarleine was fought, on the 15th of July, 1544. Lovat, the Master of Lovat, and Ranald Gallda, with almost all their followers, were slain ; with the result that the Macdonalds of Clanranald maintained in possession of the estate and chiefship a distinguished leader of their own choosing, the famous

* Gregory, p. 158.

John Moydartach, against one who possessed greater legal claims, and who was supported by all the influence of the feudal law. John afterwards transmitted to his descendants, without serious difficulty, the great possessions which he had so bravely won by the sword.

As to the alleged parsimony and effeminacy of Ranald Gallda we find the following reference in the *Clanranald Family History* (pp. 92-93):—"This interference of Lovat could ill be brooked by the Macdonalds, and the unlimited control which they observed the former to have over his young friend, convinced the clan that what they had heard of his effeminacy, was but too true, for it was circulated in the country that he was a boy, unfit for command or rule. A circumstance trifling in itself, tended to strengthen this conviction. A day or two after Ranald's arrival at Castletirrim, preparations were made for a feast to be given to the clan on his succession. Many sheep and cattle were slaughtered, and Ranald, observing a great number of fires in the court of the castle, and the busy faces of the cooks employed in dressing immense quantities of victual, inquired the cause of such a scene, when he was informed that the 'feast of welcome' was to be given on that day, in honour of his succession; and, unused to the sight of such feasts, and having no idea of such preparations, he unfortunately observed that 'a few hens might do as well'. Such an observation was not lost upon the clan; they despised the man who could for a moment think of departing from the ancient practice, and they were confirmed in their belief of his weakness and want of spirit. They rose in arms and expelled both him and Lovat from the castle, and the feast which was prepared for them served to commemorate the election of John, who was formally declared chief of the clan." This occurred on Ranald's first appearance at Castletirrim, who at the desperate Battle of Blarleine amply proved by his heroism that whether the charge of parsimoniousness was well founded or not, effeminacy had no seat in his soul; for it is admitted by

friends and foes that no one exhibited greater bravery and determination on that bloody field than he.

The following is the traditionary account of this sanguinary engagement :—John Moydartach, guessing the route Lovat was likely to take on his way home, marched down behind the range of mountains to the north of Loch-lochy, and encamped on the night previous to the battle in a glen among the hills immediately behind the farm of Kilfinnan, near a small loch, called Lochan-nam-bata, the loch of the staves. In the muddy margin of this little loch, the Moydart men left their staves on the morning of the battle, that by the number of unclaimed ones they might ascertain their losses in the impending struggle. Such is said to be the origin of the name. On the morning of the day of battle, they encamped out of sight at Lochan-nam-bata, till of a sudden they descended like birds of prey from their eyry, on the morning of the 15th. This is probable, as it was John Moydartach's best policy to conceal his forces till Lovat was in a position in which he could not decline battle against superior numbers. The Frasers numbered about three hundred men. The Clanranald brought five hundred warriors to the field. This disparity, sufficiently great to begin with, became greater, as Lovat found it necessary to detach fifty of his men, under command of his Lieutenant, Beathan Cleireach, to secure a safe retreat in case of discomfiture, which he apprehended owing to the disparity between the combatants. John Moydartach's tactics proved successful. Just as Lovat with his followers arrived at the east end of Loch Lochy, he descended with his grim warriors from the hills right opposite ; a movement, judging from the distance, which could be performed in a very short time. Lovat was now fully alive to the error he had committed in not accepting Huntly's proffered escort, but it was now too late. He had no alternative but to accept the chances of battle. Accordingly he made the best disposition of his forces, by placing the gentlemen of his little army, who were well armed, in front, and the others in the rear. The day was

unusually hot. To ease themselves as much as possible, they prepared for the conflict by stripping themselves of their upper raiment—all but their shirts and kilts. Hence the name *Blarleine*, or *Blar-nan-leine*, by which this battle is known among the Highlanders. The fight began with a discharge of arrows—the usual mode of Highland warfare in those times—and when their arrows were expended, the struggle was carried on hand to hand with the sword. From the allusion to gunpowder, in the following lines, adapted to a *pibroch* composed in commemoration of this action, we infer that fire-arms must have been used—at least to some extent :

Fhriseilich a chail chaoil,
 Fhriseilich a chail chaoil,
 Fhriseilich a chail chaoil.
 Thugaibh am bruthach oirbh.
 Chloinn Domhnuil an fhraoich,
 Chloinn Domhnuil an fhraoich,
 Chloinn Domhnuil an fhraoich,
 Cuiribh na 'n siubhal iad.
 Luaidhe chruinn ghorm,
 Luaidhe chruinn ghorm,
 Luaidhe chruinn ghorm,
 'S fudar 'cur siubhal ri.

The battle was fought from mid-day till late in the afternoon, and consisted latterly of isolated single combats. Both sides fought with determined courage, neither side yielding until—of the Frasers only four remained unwounded, and of the Clanranald eight. The others were either dead or disabled. Ranald Gallda was accounted the best swordsman of all that fought in this well-contested field. Many of the foe fell beneath his powerful weapon ; and it was more by stratagem than by strength or skill, that he was disabled towards the close of the struggle. Two noted Moydart warriors, father and son, fought under the banner of their chief. The son, known by the soubriquet of “*An Gille maol dubh*,” while performing deeds of valour himself, had his eye upon his aged sire, marking how, as foe after foe fell beneath the weapon of Ranald Gallda, that warrior came nearer and nearer to his father. The two at length joined in deadly strife. The older combatant gave ground before his more vigorous rival—on observing

which, the "Gille maol dubh" exclaimed, "'S beag orm ceum air ais an t-seann duine," I like not the backward step of an old man. The father replied, "A' bheil thusa 'n sin a Ghille mhaoil duibh, ma tha bi 'n so'." Are you there, if so be here ; whereupon the son stepped forward and took his father's place at the moment when the latter had fallen mortally wounded. For a time the contest was doubtful, but finding himself overmatched by the skill and prowess of his opponent, the "Gille maol dubh" exclaimed, "Cha bhi mi 'm brath foille 's tu, seall air do chulthaobh," I won't take advantage of you, look behind. Apprehending treachery, Ranald instinctively turned round, and in the act of doing so the Moydart man felled him to the ground. This ended the fray. Ranald Gallda dead, as it was thought, John Moydartach had nothing to fear from him ; nor the Frasers anything further to contend for ; and the few that survived unscathed on either side sullenly withdrew from what may be called a drawn battle. Lovat, his eldest son the Master, and Ranald Gallda, with eighty gentlemen of the Frasers, besides others of less note, had fallen. At the outset, as both sides were about to give battle, to Lovat's grief he was joined by the Master, a youth of great promise just returned from abroad. He had been strictly charged by his father not to take part in the expedition, and accordingly remained at home after its departure. But stung by the taunts of a step-mother, who insinuated cowardice, she secretly hoping his fall might make way for advancement of her own son ; the gallant youth chose twelve trusty companions, followed his father and clan, and arrived at Kinlochlochry in time to take part in the fight which brought him to an untimely end. There is, right opposite the battlefield of Dalruari, where the present road curves westward towards the farm house of Kilfinnan, a hillock, still known by the name of Cnocan-oich-oich. Oich ! in Gaelic is expressive of pain. On this hillock, at the time the battle was fought, there was a hostelry, and a barn adjoining, into which many of the wounded were carried to have the benefit of such medical

skill as was then available. Into this barn Ranald Gallda, dangerously wounded, was, with others, carried. During the night, the surviving Macdonalds indulged largely in potations of "mountain dew," were jubilant over the discomfiture of the Frasers, and boasted of their own individual feats in arms. Ranald Gallda, who overheard their conversations, unwisely remarked "that there was one Macdonald, who had he been alive, might well have boasted of his prowess ; and that had he himself been what he was that morning, he would encounter them all single handed, rather than that one brave man had fallen that day beneath his sword." This unguarded remark discovered who their wounded prisoner was. Irritated by the taunt, they bribed the leech who dressed the wound to thrust his needle into his brain when dressing his head. Thus perished Ranald Gallda by the hands of his own clan—a man whose capacity as well as prowess deserved a better fate at their hands. The loss sustained by the Frasers, great as it was, would have been still more disastrous to the clan but for a remarkable circumstance which we have upon the authority both of Buchanan and Sir Robert Gordon, that the wives of the slain Frasers—almost all of them—subsequently gave birth to sons. This is corroborated by more than one of the Clan historians. And while some slight margin may be allowed for more or less exaggeration—if such there be—we have no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the testimony of these men.*

Another version differs from the above in some details, and it deserves a place here, though we hesitate to believe the part attributed to the heroic John Moydartach in the death scene of his brave relative, Ranald Gallda. After some lengthy remarks as to the incidents which led up to the battle, of the same character as those already set forth, the chronicle proceeds:—Among the Macdonalds there was an old man who had seven sons by his first wife, and one by a second, who was still a youth. This

* The Rev. Alex. Sinclair, M.A., in the *Celtic Magazine*.

person was himself a powerful and a skilful swordsman, and his seven sons were not inferior to their stern and stalwart father, either in strength or dexterity in the use of their weapons. The Macdonalds had proceeded on their march with great celerity, and some of them were outrun in the race; but when they mustered their numbers on the top of the hill of North Laggan, ere they descended into the plain, the old man found that he was not only surrounded by his seven sons by his first, but also attended by a youth, the only son by a second wife whom he passionately loved, and whom he could not think of leaving behind him, in the event of his fall in the battle, bereaved of her only son. He therefore tried all his powers of persuasion, but in vain, to induce the youth to return home. At length, determined to try the effect of taunts, since other means had failed, he exclaimed in accents of coarse severity, "I hate to see in battle a beardless youth, escaped from the spoon-feeding care of your mother!" The youth said nothing, but descended into the field of battle by the side of his veteran and determined father. When Lovat issued from the wood of Letterfinlay, on the broad field of Culross, he saw the Macdonalds drawn up in line with their right wing resting on the head of Lochlochy, and their left on a marsh below the house of Kinloch, thus cutting off his route to his own country by Shian and Laggan. He was now again strongly advised, by one of the patriarchs of his clan, to ascend the hill slantingly, above Kinloch, and cross by Corryshian, into Glenroy, and, by this route, to rejoin the Macintoshes, and to proceed to his own country by Moyhall. But Lovat and his brave clan were by far too proud and high-minded "to fly from an unfoughten field," and so he immediately advanced to plunge into battle; but the day being extremely hot, and seeing that the Macdonalds had stripped, as had been the wont of the clan when fighting in their own country (as on the day of the battle of the Grampians and that of Killiecrankie), he ordered his clan to strip also. Hence this memorable clan engagement is called the battle of Blairleine—the field of shirts.

The space on which this bloody clan-battle was fought did not exceed half a mile square, being bounded on the one side by Lochlochy, on the other side by the bog already mentioned, and on the other two sides, by the hills of Kinloch and Kilianan. This space is now partly covered by the loch, which has been embanked at Gairlochy, and so deepened, and thrown eastward ; and also by the Caledonian Canal ; but the two hillocks to which the wounded and the dying are said to have crawled from the field are still visible, the one on the south, and the other on the north side of the glen ; but both now are almost covered by the head of the loch. The one was called *Cnocan nan creuchd*, and the other, *Cnocan oich-oich* !—names very appropriate for the stations of wounded men.

Ranald Gallda, young, powerful, and active, and a perfect master of the science of swordmanship, was determined to requite upon the loftiest crests in the Macdonald band the insults and the contempt of which he had been the object, and the now deliberate usurpation of his title, office, and rights, as chief of his clan, by his uncle. Resolved to bring the stern question between them to the arbitrement of a personal conflict, he overlooked every meaner object of vengeance, and made incredible exertions to meet him in the battle ; but cool, wary, and skilful, John of Moydart, surrounded by his *leine-chrios*, or shirt of mail, as the body guard of a Highland chief has ever been called, seemed to decline or to overlook his nephew's repeated attempts to come into contest with him, and traversed the field, wherever his presence was needed—here restoring order in his own ranks, and there beating the enemy to the ground. But not unscathed did this devoted band move through the ranks of the enemy, though everywhere attended by victory. The swords of Ranald Gallda and his gallant relative, Lovat, who, with his *leine-chrios* never lost sight of his young, brave, and distinguished nephew—distinguished not less by his lofty and commanding stature, than his irresistible sword—were cutting them to the ground, one by one, until, of these gallant bands, composed of the choice

warriors of both clans, none were left but Ranald Gallda and the old veteran formerly mentioned. The old man saw four of his gigantic and brave sons cut down before his eyes, by Lovat and Ranald Gallda, while he himself was compelled to stand fixed to the spot, like a chained lion, over the prostrate body of his chief, John of Moydart, who had fallen severely wounded, to guard it from further injury, until removed from the field; the other three had fallen at an early period of the engagement. The wounded chief having been carried away, the old man, inflamed with feelings of the most deadly hate and revenge against Ranald Gallda, now assailed him with terrible fury, but finding himself baffled by the skilful swordsmanship of Ranald, and feeling his own inferiority, if not in strength, at least in quickness and agility of action, he changed from the offensive to the defensive, and while parrying the dexterous strokes and thrusts of his opponent, was slyly giving ground, inch by inch, thus, in his politic retreat, drawing his opponent towards the Macdonald side of the field. At this moment, his youngest son, by his second marriage (who had been separated from him, and was running in great anxiety and distress, over the now comparatively silent and deserted field of battle, looking for his father) made his appearance; and, either not comprehending the motive of the retreating steps of the veteran, or still remembering with some indignation, the taunt of the morning, exclaimed, "I hate the sight which meets my eye, the backward steps of an old man in battle!" and he instantly dashed in, sword and target in hand, between the old man and Ranald, calling out "Cothrum na Feinne"—the equal combat of the Fingalians—being the usual pledge in a fair field and no favour, among the clans. Though equal in courage to his opponent, yet the youth was far his inferior in strength and skill in the use of his weapon. This was evident to the old man at a glance, and his feelings of hatred and revenge against Ranald Gallda being now excited to madness, by alarm for his young, gallant, and only remaining son, a demon thought

entered his heart, and he called out, "I will not be a traitor to you, Ranald, they are at you behind!" Ranald, thrown off his guard, in the impulse of the moment looked behind him, and was instantly cut down by the old man, who raised a shout of triumph that communicated the fall of Ranald Gallda to friends and foes over all the field.

Lovat and Ranald Gallda down, and but few, indeed, of their chivalrous and gallant clan now left, the survivors determined, if possible, to make good their retreat, and draw off to the south-east corner of the field, where they still formed a small band of brothers and kinsmen. But the remnant of the Macdonalds, though in number scarcely exceeding their own, were excited and exasperated into fury by the resistance they had met, and the loss—the irremediable loss—all and each of them had sustained in kinsmen and brothers, dear and precious to their hearts, on the fatal field of Blair-leine. They, accordingly, mustered all their strength on the opposite side of the field, and prepared for a new, a last, and an exterminating assault on the remnant of the Frasers, who seeing that all further resistance was aimless, if not hopeless, fled with precipitation through the great glen of Albyn, towards their now bereaved country and families; but such was the inveteracy and determination of the vengeful Macdonalds, that they followed in hot pursuit, slaying all whom they could overtake on the way, for the distance of about ten miles.

In the meantime Ranald Gallda was carried, still alive, from the field, and laid on a bed in a hut by the side of Cnocan oich-oich, while a wild, hair-brained personage, who was alternately the prophet and the leech of the clan, after having examined the wound, proceeded to report the state of the case to John of Moydart. "Will he live?" enquired the chief, with a kindling eye and husky voice, casting a look of intelligence at the leech. "He might live," replied the wretch, "but so small is his hold of life that the point of the *dealg* (pin) which fastens your plaid were sufficient to

send him to eternity, for his brain is laid open by the wound." The chief drew the dealg in silence, from his plaid, and handed it to the leech, who with a fiendish smile on his thin and haggard face, instantly entered the hut, where he found the old man and the youth, his son, watching over the apparently unconscious chief, and bathing his couch with their tears—a change of feeling not uncharacteristic of the wild, passionate, but kind warm-hearted Highland warrior of the olden time.

The leech approached the bed and tried, with a gentle hand, to remove the dirk, a weapon which the young chief loved, and which, somehow or other, he had contrived to draw from its sheath as he was being carried from the field ; but he found that the attempt was discovered, and that Ranald Gallda had still sufficient strength to resist him. The old man observed the attempt of the leech, and the tightening grasp of the chief on his dagger, and said fiercely, "Why dost thou want to disarm his hand ? Can'st thou not examine and bind up the wound without removing the dirk ?" "I like not," said the leech, "to exercise my skill on armed men ; but if thou wilt remove the weapon, I will do all I can to relieve him, although I fear there is little chance of his recovery, the strongest arm of the Clanranald having addressed his trenchant blade to his skull."

The old man groaned in the inmost core of his heart, and said, "Would that that arm had been in the grave ere it aimed the accursed blow at his head ; but alas, alas, no man need now fear the dirk of the heroic chief. Do thou examine the wound, and if you canst but cure and set him again on his feet, thou mayst ever count on an unfailing friend in me, and every man who will adhere to me in his defence."

The leech, in seeming compliance, made the old man and his son draw back from the bed, and leaned over the chief in the apparent examination of the wound. Ranald Gallda gave a convulsive start ; the leech shrunk back in alarm, but with the quickness of lightning, Ranald's dirk was

buried in his heart ; and, with this last act of just vengeance, Ranald Gallda ceased to live.

John Moydartach is soon after engaged with the neighbouring clans, particularly the Frasers and Mackintoshes. "The battle of Blarleine had not been forgotten by Lovat, and he and Mackintosh took every opportunity of distressing him ; the Earl of Sutherland, too, prompted perhaps by the wish of sharing part of John's inheritance, was an active but secret instigator of all disputes—and the consequence was that a warfare was constantly carried on. In this John was supported by the whole of his clan, particularly Glengarry, and the Lairds of Knoydart and Morar. The irresolute conduct of the Regent of the Kingdom, and the universal sway which the Earl of Huntly, then' Lieutenant of the North, had over the neighbourhood, contributed in no small degree to keep alive the animosity which then existed. Huntly's ambition was unbounded ; his lands marched with those of the Clanranald in several parts, and could he have succeeded in reducing their power, there is little doubt but he would have reaped the whole benefit of the enterprise. Inroads were mutually made, and with various success, till the year 1554, when the Regent having resigned the government of the kingdom into the Queen Dowager's hands, and peace being for a time settled with the English, the Queen Regent and governor set about the internal settlement of the kingdom. Huntly was active in representing the conduct of John in its most unfavourable light, and he was at last despatched to bring him to the Queen Regent. He collected his own clan, the Gordons, as well as the Frasers and Mackintoshes, and marched forward to Moydart, into which he partly penetrated. John, in the meantime, was not inactive ; he summoned the clan, and opposed Huntly with such a force as completely intimidated him. No action of any importance was fought, as it was alleged by Huntly that the Clan Chattan raised a tumult in the camp, which compelled him to retire. Be this as it may, Huntly, having completely failed in the enterprise, was committed to the Castle of

Edinburgh, and was severely attacked by his enemies ; who averred that the failure originated, not in the behaviour of the Clan Chattan, but in Huntly himself having a dislike to Mackintosh, the chief of that clan. When it is considered that Huntly was at that time one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and that his strength lay in the very neighbourhood, it can hardly be supposed that the defection of the Clan Chattan would have compelled him to retire ; and when, again, it is observed that Huntly at all times had a dislike to the Clanranald, and that the recent battle of Blairline must have tended to strengthen that dislike, it is far less to be supposed that he would have favoured their cause. The more natural supposition is, that he saw the strength of John was such as to give him little chance of success, and he threw the blame of the defeat upon the Clan Chattan, while his enemies averred that he acted disloyally. This enterprise having completely failed, the Queen Regent was extremely indignant ; she shortly afterwards proceeded to Inverness, and held assizes, to which she summoned John, and the heads of those collateral branches of the clan who supported him ; but they refused to obey the summons, unless assured of their safety. John Stewart, Earl of Athole, was despatched against them in July 1555. Athole was rather favourably inclined towards the Clanranald, and promised pardon and protection to them. John was induced to go to Inverness with several of his sons ; he had been but a short time there when, fearing treachery, he made his escape to Castletirrim. On his way he was attacked by Mackintosh and the Clan Chattan, whom he beat off ; but having but few followers, he could not attempt any retaliation upon them. He very shortly afterwards became reconciled to the Queen Regent, and returned to Inverness. While there he became acquainted with Penelope, second daughter of Sir Charles Erskine, who was third son of Alexander, Viscount Fenton, and (his former wife, Mariatte M'Kane, being dead) married her in the year 1555.*

* History of the Family, 1819, pp. 101-103.

In 1547, John was commanded, among other Highland chiefs, to assemble at Fallow Muir to resist the English, who came to enforce the performance of a treaty of marriage which had previously been entered into for the marriage of Queen Mary with the heir to the English crown. John not only refused to go, but prevented all his retainers from doing so; and his influence was sufficient among the clan to induce the other leading chiefs and their followers to do the same. After the battle of Blarleine, the Earl of Huntly returned North with a strong force, when he laid a great part of the country waste, and apprehended many of the principal leaders of the clans, some of whom he put to death. Among the latter were Ewin Allanson of Lochiel and Ranald Macdonald, son of Donald Glas of Keppoch, who were tried for high treason, for the part they had taken at the battle of Blarleine and in the rebellions of the Earl of Lennox. These were tried by a jury of landed gentlemen, found guilty, for a short time imprisoned in the Castle of Ruthven, and then beheaded. Their heads were exposed over the gates of the town of Elgin. Many of the others apprehended at the same time were ignominiously hanged. John Moydartach does not appear on this occasion to have opposed Huntly, but is said to have taken shelter in the Isles, from which he returned as soon as the Earl of Huntly left the North, and retaliated on Huntly's neighbouring property and friends, by plundering and wasting their territories.

In 1548, the Highlanders, who refused to assemble at Fallow Muir, and who still remained outlaws, seem to have been pardoned, in consequence of the disastrous results of the battle of Pinky, on more favourable terms than they could reasonably have expected in the circumstances. John Moydartach shared in this clemency. We find a respite, dated 26th of August, 1548, in favour of "Jhone Muyduart MacAlester, Captaine of Clanranald; Angus MacAlester, his brother; Rorye MacAlester; Allan MacAlester, sons to Jhone Muyduart; Alester MacAne vic Alester of Glengarie; Alester MacDowell vic Rynell;

Angus MacAngus Moir ; Angus MacAllane vic Ranald of Knowdart ; Allane Owge MacAlester vic Allane ; Alester MacDonald vic Ane of Ardmowarche ; Angus MacAlester vic Angus ; Donald MacAlester vic Kane ; Allan MacPerson vic Alester ; Donald Moir MacAne vic Illane, for yr treasonable remaining and abyding at hame fra our Soverane Ladyis oist and army, devisit and ordanit to convene upon Fallow-mure, ye last day of August ye zeir of God Jm. Vc., xlvii. [1547] zers for resisting of the Protector of Ingland and his army, yam beand wt'in yis realme for destruction of ye lieges yrof, and for the slauchter of ye Lord Lovet and his complices at [Blarleine] ye yeir of God Jm. Vc. forty [four] zeris ; and for all actions, &c., and for xix. zers to endure. At Musselburgh, ye xxvi. day of August, the zere of God Jm. Vc. xlviii. zeris. Per Signatarum.”* In spite of the leniency displayed towards him on this occasion, John could not give up his habits of war and pillage. He had little faith in the government, and he probably thought it much safer for himself and his clan, in their almost inaccessible wilds, to resist a power which he could not help seeing was, at this period, fast falling into decay.

At Inverness, on the 24th of August, 1552, we find a Commission, under the great seal, granted by Mary Queen of Scots, with the advice of James, Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran, and Lord Hamilton, Protector and Governor of the Kingdom, to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, Lord Campbell and Lorn, and Justice General of Scotland, which proceeds, “that notwithstanding the said Governor has remained for a long time dispensing justice in the Burgh of Inverness, the Clanranald nevertheless refused obedience to Her Majesty’s authority and laws, with the other subjects of the kingdom ; wherefore Her Majesty gives full power to the said Earl of Argyll to assemble his friends and vassals, and with them go to Clanranald, and to pursue them with fire and sword, and within whatever islands they may seek refuge, for their disobedience, depre-

* Privy Seal, vol. xxii., folio 27.

dations, and murders.”* Queen Mary of Guise, at this time in France, soon after came to Scotland, succeeded Arran as Protector, and became vested with full authority. She immediately ordered Huntly north with another expedition for the express purpose of apprehending the Captain of Clanranald, and putting an end to his violent proceedings.

In June, 1554, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll “were ordered to proceed, by sea and land, to the utter extermination of the Clanranald,” and others who had failed to give hostages for their good conduct. Argyll proceeded to the Isles, while Huntly with a large force, composed of Lowlanders and Highlanders, proceeded to attack Clanranald. Both failed in the object of their expedition, Huntly, because the Highlanders were so much exasperated against Huntly for his execution of William Mackintosh of Mackintosh in 1550, that the Earl declined to face Clanranald with such an army, after which he disbanded his forces and returned home. He was, in consequence, committed to the prison of Edinburgh, by the Regent, and did not obtain his liberty until he had renounced among other lucrative grants which he had recently acquired, the Earldoms of Mar and Moray, and the gift of the ward and marriage of Mary Macleod, heiress of Harris, Dunvegan, and Glenelg; while he became bound to banish himself to France for five years; but this latter condition was removed on payment to the Regent of a sum of £5000.

Gregory, describing the Earl of Athole’s expedition to the North in 1555, says that Athole succeeded so well with John, Captain of Clanranald, “that he prevailed upon that restless chief, with two of his sons, and certain of his kinsmen, to come before the Regent, and submit themselves to her clemency. Mary of Guise, pleased with their submission, pardoned them their past offences; but ordered them, in the meantime, to remain, some at Perth, and others at the Castle of Methven, till her will should be further declared to them. After remaining, however, in these

* *Invernessiana*, p. 223.

places for a short time, the Highlanders made their escape to their native mountains ; giving the Regent a lesson, as a Scottish annalist [Balfour] quaintly observes, 'to hold the fox better by the ear while she had him in her hands'. This result of her mistaken lenity roused the Regent to greater exertions, and determined her to proceed next year in person to the North, to hold Justice Courts for the punishment of great offenders, and thus to prevent misrule in time coming. Accordingly, in the month of July, 1556, Mary of Guise arrived at Inverness, accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Athole, and Marischal, and the Bishops of Ross and Orkney, with others of the Privy Council. Here Courts were held, and offenders were visited with the most severe punishment—the chiefs of clans being obliged to apprehend and present to justice the criminals of their own tribes, according to the wise regulations by James V., which during the late wars, had fallen into desuetude. As John Moydartach is not mentioned at all by Lesley in his account of this progress of the Queen Regent to the North, it seems probable that this arch-rebel had escaped the punishment which awaited him by flying to the more remote Isles.”*

When Queen Mary visited Inverness in September, 1563, and was denied access to the Castle, John, Captain of Clanranald, made his appearance with a numerous retinue, and was among the foremost, with the Mackintoshes, Frasers, and Munroes, to protect the Queen, whom he accompanied for some distance on her return journey ; and he appears to have continued firm in his loyalty during the remainder of his life. In 1566, he obtained a remission for past offences for himself, his sons, and all those who had taken part in his rebellious proceedings, dated 3d of March.†

* Highlands and Isles, pp. 185-186,

† The document (Privy Seal, vol. xxxv., p. 10), is as follows:—*Preceptum remissionis Johannis MacAlister, alias Moydart, Capitanei de Clanranald ; Allan MacAne Vic Alestar, ejus filii ; Johannis Oig MacAne Vic Alestar, etiam ejus filii ; Rorie MacAne Vic Alestar, etiam sui filii ; Angusii MacAne Vic Alestar. etiam filii dicti Johannis ; Donaldi Gorme MacAne Vic Alestar, etiam sui filii ; Alani MacCawell Vic Rannald de Moroure, Angusii MacAllane Mac Rannald de Knoydert,*

The following corroborates the authorities already quoted :—"In 1532 King James V. granted a charter of legitimation in favour of John Makalester of Castletirrim, the son of the deceased Alexander M'Alane of Castletirrim, and in the same year, for the good service done and to be done by him, and seeing that the charters granted to his predecessors had been destroyed through war and other local disturbances, granted anew to him and to his heirs the 27 mark lands of Moydart, the 30 mark lands of Arisaik, and other lands in the Sheriffdom of Inverness, which of old belonged in heritage to Allan Makrory, the grandfather of John Makalestar of Castletirrim, and to his predecessors, and now to be held of the king in fee for service of ward, relief, and marriage, provided that John Makalester and his heirs should not do homage to any person without the special licence of the king. In 1534, John M'Allaster Vic Allan, captain of the Clanranald, granted to Archibald, Earl of Argyll, the two Kinluthes, Aernie, Glenalladill, Blyng, and Shenan, together of the old extent of 10 marks, in the barony of Moydart. In the same year the granter of these lands appears as John M'Alester M'Allan of Elanterim, captain of the Clanranald. In 1538, King James V. granted to Alane M'Coule M'Rannald, and his brother Lauchlane M'Coule M'Rannald, the nonentry and other dues of 14 mark lands of Morowre and 7 mark lands in Awrissaig, and other lands, in the sheriffdom of Inverness. In 1540, the same king granted the nonentry and other dues of the same lands to Archibald, Earl of Ergile, the lands, according to the grant, having been in the king's hands since the decease of John Makangus Reoch Makranald. In the same year he granted to

Angusii Mac Alestar Vic Ane de Glengary ; Rorie, ejus fratris ; Gorie, ejus fratris ; Alane, etiam sui fratris ; et Johannis Mac Condochie Cowill, pro ipsorum proditoria, remanentia, et domi existentia, ab exercitu apud Falew Muir, et ab hinc ad Maxwell Heuch migratione ; pro resistentia antiquorum inimicorum Anglie, in mense Octobris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo quartuagesimo septimo, convenire ordinat ; nec non ab omnibus alliis actionibus criminibus, transgressionibus, et offensionibus, per ipsos vel eorum aliquem, aliquibus temporibus preteritis preceden. diem date presentiam commiss. et perpetrat. Apud Edinburgh, tertio die mensis Marcij, anno Domini prescript. (1566) per signetum."

Ranald Alanesoun, styled Galda, the dues of the 27 mark lands of Moydert, and the 24 mark lands of Arissaik, in the Sherifffdom of Inverness, which were in the king's hands since the decease of Alane Rorisoun, Ranald's father. At the same time, on the narrative that it appeared that the deceased Alan Rorysoun of Moydert, the father of Ranald Alanesoun, and his predecessors had been heritably infest in the same lands, and that all their charters had been lost or destroyed through disturbances in that district, in consequence of which Ranald could never obtain entry as his father's heir, King James V. granted him the lands anew, and revoked a grant of them made in his minority to John Makalester on sinister and unjust information, and all other grants of the same lands which he had given to any other persons. Ranald died in 1544, and in 1563 Queen Mary granted to his son Allane Makrannald, the dues of the 30 marks of Mwdart, and the 30 marks of Arissak, and other lands, which were in her hands since his father's decease." *

In 1545, John MacAlister, Captain of Clanranald, and Angus Ranaldson of Knoydart, are found among the Council of Donald Dubh, who had only a short time previously been proclaimed and acknowledged by all the Macdonalds as Lord of the Isles.

John was undoubtedly one of the most distinguished warriors and leaders of the whole Macdonald race, and by his brilliant talents and his consummate skill and bravery in the field, he raised himself to the highest position in the clan ; while his regard for, and attention to, his own more immediate retainers ensured for him their warmest respect and admiration. The most distinguished leaders of the other branches of the race of Somerled acknowledged his surpassing ability, and followed him in all his proceedings against the common enemy ; and he never failed, when procuring any personal favours, to include those who joined him in his dangerous exploits. During the last twenty years of his life he appears to have lived quietly, unmolested

* *Origines Pariochales Scotiæ*, vol. ii., pp. 202-203.

and unmolested, among his devoted people ; for, in common with the rest of the Highlanders, he scarcely felt any interest in that period of Scottish history, during which the proceedings of Mary Queen of Scots, her marriages, captivity, and death, so much absorbed the attention of the southern part of the kingdom.

He married, first, Marriate Macian of Ardnamurchan, with issue—

1. Allan, his heir.

2. John Og, who married his cousin, Sheela, or Julia Macdonald,* with issue—one son, Alexander, progenitor of Glenaladale.

3. Roderick, who died unmarried.

* In the *Clanranald Family History*, p. 107, John Og is said to have been unmarried, and his only son, Alexander, is described as a "natural son, of whom the families of Glenaladale and Borrodale, now [1819] represented by John Macdonald, Esq." We are not at all surprised to find such a statement inserted, for selfish and spiteful reasons, in a work where so many attempts are made to falsify the facts as to the legitimacy of John Moydartach and others. It will surprise no one to find in a work where whole generations are passed over, and others made to live whole generations after they were in their graves—in spite of dates and irrefragable charters, and with the clear intention of blinding the reader as to the *natural* origin of the famous Ian Muidartach—no scruples against bastardising those of legitimate birth. Having made enquiries, among others, of Mr. Alexander Macdonald, wine merchant, Inverness, one of the present representatives of Glenaladale, we have received permission to publish the following letter from the Rev. Donald Macdonald, Glenfinnan. Writing to his brother, he says:—"In reply to your reference to page 107 of the *History of Clanranald*, I have simply to say, what you already know, that the assertion of illegitimacy there stated, is a most malicious untruth, put in for a purpose. The author of it, Macdonald of Dalilea, who was married to an aunt, had a quarrel with our father. By means of his acquaintance with the authors of the book, he gratified his spite, during the publication, by misleading them into *this error*, which he knew at the time to be false, and afterwards confessed openly. When the book appeared in print, he was suspected of it and accused, and afterwards, when my father and he became better friends, he made a clean breast of it. At the same time, he promised my father to have it corrected in the next edition, with a full confession of its incorrectness, but no second edition was ever issued. Such an assertion was never made before nor since by any other ; and it is in direct contradiction to the genealogy of the family. The trick occurred in our time, and we are still living testimonies to his confession of the crime and retraction—that is, though ourselves too young at the time to understand it, we received it afterwards by hearing the above stated and talked over frequently by our father, oldest brother, and sisters, in whose time and vivid recollection it occurred. Mr. Mackenzie then has more than abundant reason for not repeating this error in his forthcoming work, as it is, first, in contradiction to the family genealogy, and, second, the author of it confessed his motive for inventing it." Burke, who accepts the *History* here referred to as his authority throughout, reproduces the error that John Og was unmarried, in several editions.

4. Angus ; and 5, Donald Gorm, who died unmarried.

John married, secondly, in 1555, Penelope, second daughter of Sir Charles Erskine, third son of Alexander, Viscount Fenton, with issue—

6. A daughter, who married John Stewart of Appin.

He died, very advanced in years, in 1584, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XV. ALLAN MACDONALD,

Eighth of Moydart and Clanranald. He took a prominent share in the remarkable career of his distinguished father, and was, at his predecessor's death, nearly fifty years of age. It would have been observed that he is included in the remissions granted in favour of his father, dated respectively 26th of August 1548, 21st May 1565, and 3rd of March 1566. In 1588, he quarrelled with Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch and killed his brother. In consequence a letter under the Privy Seal, dated 10th of May, in the same year, was passed in favour of "John M'Ranald, son and apparand aire to Allane M'Ranald of Easter Leys, his aris and assignees, ane or mar, of the gift of the escheit, &c.; quhilk pertinet to Allane M'Ane Muydart and Angus M'Allane, his sone, in Muydart, &c.; through being of the saids personis ordaurlied denouncit rebellis, and put to the horn for the slauchter of Allane Og M'Allane M'Ane, broder to Alexander M'Rannald of Kippoch, and not underlying the law, &c." For this offence he does not appear to have been ever pardoned, nor does he seem to have obtained any charters from the crown of his father's territories, though apparently he had undisturbed possession of them during his life.

Allan married a daughter of Alastair Crotach Macleod of Harris, widow of James Og, son of Donald Gruamach, fourth of Sleat. Allan's ill-treatment of this lady became the cause of violent feuds between his family and that of the Macleods, which were only terminated by another

marriage between John, Allan's grandson, and Moir, daughter of the famous Rory Mor Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, knighted by King James VI. in 1613. By his wife (who, after his death, married, as her third husband, Macdonald of Keppoch) Allan had issue—

1. Angus, who died before his father, without issue.
2. Donald, who succeeded to Clanranald.
3. Ranald, who received from his father extensive possessions in Benbecula and Arasaig, and whose descendants on the failure of Donald's male representatives, carried on the succession.
4. John, who obtained a feu charter of the lands of Kinlochmoidart, and from whom is lineally descended, on the mother's side, the present William Roberson-Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart.
5. Margaret, who married Donald, eighth of Glengarry, with issue.
6. Letitia, who married Alexander, second of Glenaladale.

He died in 1593, and was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

XVI. SIR DONALD MACDONALD,

Ninth of Clanranald. Having entered into a marriage alliance with the house of Macdonald of Isla, then at war with the celebrated warrior Lachlan Mor Maclean of Duart, Clanranald joined his father-in-law, and entered the territories of the Macleans of Mull, Tiree, and Coll, which he harried, wasted, and burnt, carrying away a large spoil. Maclean was at the time unable to retaliate, but his opportunity soon came. In the summer of 1595, the Macdonalds decided upon proceeding to Ireland, under Donald Gorm of Sleat, with a large fleet to aid Red Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, in his wars with Queen Elizabeth. Duart was ready to oppose them on certain conditions, which Elizabeth was either unable or unwilling at the time to grant. He

therefore disbanded his men, and Macdonald's fleet, consisting of a hundred sail, of which fifty were galleys, and the remainder smaller craft, sailed unmolested, for Ireland. The number of soldiers and mariners who started on this expedition are estimated at about five thousand. "Nine hundred men, however, under the Captain of Clanranald, still remained ; and as they passed Mull had the temerity to land for the night ; running their 'galleys, boats, and birlins' into a little harbour, where they imagined themselves secure. But Maclean, by what Achincross termed a 'bauld onset and prattie feit of weir,' took the whole company prisoners, threw the chiefs into irons, sent them to his dungeons in his different castles, appropriated their galleys, and transported the common men to the mainland. Amongst the chief prisoners then taken were the Captain of Clanranald and three of his uncles, the Laird of Knoydart, M'Ian of Ardnamurchan, Donald Gorm's brothers, and others ; and an account of the surprise was immediately transmitted by John Achinross to Nicolson, the English envoy at the Court of James. . . . Elizabeth was delighted with this exploit of Lauchlan Mor ; assured him of her gratitude and friendship " ; and sent him, in the shape of a thousand crowns, what he considered a very substantial proof of her appreciation of his conduct, and what he himself, in a letter to Cecil, characterises as an "honourable token of her favour".* The Captain of Clanranald joined the Macdonalds of Glengarry in their wars against Mackenzie in Kintail, Lochcarron, and Lochalsh, with the details of which the reader is already acquainted. He afterwards marched through Skye to his lands in Uist, when he found Murdoch MacRory Macneil of Barra com-

* Tytler's History of Scotland ; in which we are told that " It is curious to trace Elizabeth's connection with this man [Lauchlan Mor]. The Lord of Duart's confidential servant happened to be a certain shrewd Celt, named John Achinross ; he, in turn, was connected by marriage with Master John Cunningham, a worthy citizen and merchant in Edinburgh. This honest Baillie of the Capital, forming the link between savage and civilised life, corresponded with Sir Robert Bowes ; Bowes with Burghley or Sir Robert Cecil ; and thus Elizabeth, sitting in her closet at Windsor, or Greenwich, moved the strings which assembled or dispersed the chivalry of the Isles. This is no ideal picture, for letters of the actors remain."

mitting outrages and depredations on his lands of South Uist, under pretence that a portion of them belonged to him. They met at North Boisdale, when most of the Barra men were slain. Macneil effected his escape, but Clanranald followed him to Barra, and compelled him to flee for refuge to some of the remoter Islands to the west.

The Captain of Clanranald, like most of the Highland chiefs, became much involved in debt to the crown and neighbouring chiefs for depredations on their lands ; and he is one of the chiefs who, in 1608, met the king's commissioners at Maclean's Castle of Aros, in Mull, and agreed to give security for the payment of his Majesty's rents ; deliver up their castles and strongholds ; give up the feudal privileges hitherto claimed by them ; submit themselves to the laws of the realm ; deliver up their galleys, birlins, and vessels of war to be destroyed ; and send their children south to be brought up and educated under the protection and superintendence of the Privy Council, as became the children of barons and gentlemen of the land. On the 7th of March, 1610, Donald received a supersedure from the crown of all his debts for a period of three years, on the narrative that, having a great number of kinsmen, friends, and dependers, who, for years before had committed spulzies and depredations, and that for the obedience of the laws, he was forced to answer for them ; and various decreets had gone out against him, for great sums of money which it was impossible for him to pay, though his Majesty was satisfied that he had done all he could to do so. Donald Gorm of Sleat, who had meanwhile become superior by gift from the crown of the thirty merk lands of Skirrough, twelve merk lands of Benbecula, and one penny lands of Gartgimines, on the 4th of June, 1610, granted a charter of these lands to the Captain of Clanranald, which was confirmed by the crown on the 20th of July, and sasine was passed upon it on the 5th of October following. On the 24th of July in the same year, he obtained another charter from the crown, in which is narrated the substance of that granted by James V. to his grand-

father, John Moydartach, on the 11th of February, 1531, of the twenty-seven merk lands of Moydart, thirty merk lands of Arasaig, and thirty-one merk lands of Eigg. In addition he now obtained three other merk lands of Moydart, nine merk lands in Eigg, "comprehending Galmisdale, Gruline, the third part of Cleatill, the half of Knockhaltock, and the half of Ballemenoch, extending to thirty merk lands of new extent". He also obtained by this charter the fourteen merk lands of Morar, seven merk lands in Arasaig, twenty-three merk lands of Kindess [south end of Uist], and six merks of Boisdale, all united and incorporated into the free barony of Castletirrim; and the stronghold of Castletirrim was appointed the principal messuage of the barony.

Allan, the eldest son of Ranald Gallda, already referred to (p. 378), as having obtained a charter of legitimation in 1555, and a gift of the non-entry duties of the lands of Moydart and Arasaig, was permitted to retain possession of these for a considerable time. His only son, Angus, also possessed them after him, and claimed them as his own, but Donald dispossessed him and took violent possession. Angus at once commenced an action against Clanranald, who, disdaining it as frivolous and ill-grounded, and contemning the authority of the Sheriff before whom it was brought, decree was pronounced against him on the 6th of October, 1612, when he was denounced a rebel. In the same year Angus MacAllan MacRanald—Angus, the son of Allan, son of Ranald—was actually served heir to his grandfather, Ranald Allanson of Moydart, in the 27 merk lands of Moydart, and the 24 merk lands of Arasaig, of the old extent of £20.* On the 14th of July, 1614, a letter passed the Privy Seal in favour of Sir Alexander Kerr of Oxenham, of the escheat pertaining to him, in consequence of this denunciation; but he, nevertheless, maintained possession. Angus MacRanald shortly afterwards died, and his son, John, and daughter, Elizabeth, again denounced Sir Donald as a rebel, for not finding caution of lawborrows,

* *Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*, Vol. II., p. 203; and *Retours*.

at the instance of their father, and another letter passed the Privy Seal in favour of Sir James Stewart of Killeith, of Sir Donald's escheat ; but all further procedure was stopped by the death of John and his sister soon afterwards.* On the 5th of November, 1611, the king, by letter, under the Privy Seal, disposed to Andrew, Bishop of the Isles, "for the good, true, and thankful service done to His Majestie," all sums owing to him by several great Highland chiefs, among others Donald, Captain of Clanranald. He was still, notwithstanding the charters and other favours received by him from the crown, held responsible for the depredations committed by him in Mull, Tiree, Kintail, and Barra ; but, at last, he became fully reconciled to the king, who granted him a full remission, dated at Greenwich, on the 27th of June, 1613, for all his past offences. On the 26th of July, 1614, Sir Donald Macdonald, of Sleat, acquired the superiority of the lands of Skirrough, Benbecula, and Gartgimines, belonging to Clanranald. In 1615, Clanranald is included in an Act denouncing the Western chiefs as rebels against the Sovereign authority, on which occasion the Earl of Argyll, with a strong force, from the counties of Dumbarton, Ayr, and Renfrew is sent against them. In 1616, he is included in a summons requiring that he should submit to appear annually before the Council, or as often as required, on being summoned to do so, and on such occasions to exhibit two of his kinsmen ; reduce the gentlemen of his household to the number of six ; that he should keep within certain prescribed limits of the residence allotted to him ; that he should farm a portion of his domains ; also plant, cultivate, and encourage his kinsmen to do the same ; that he should not keep more than three tuns of wine for consumption in his house ; that he should not keep more than one large galley, nor an unnecessary number of fire-arms ; and that he should educate his children according to certain conditions imposed. For the execution of these stringent terms he had to grant his personal bond, and the security of personal friends. Donald afterwards

* History of the Family of Clanranald, pp. 115-116.

visited Edinburgh, where, according to the history of the family, he was knighted in May, 1617; at Holyrood House, by James VI.

Sir Donald married Mary, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Isla, with issue :—

1. John, his heir.

2. Ranald ; 3, Alexander ; 4, Donald ; all of whom died without issue.

Sir Donald died in December, 1619, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XVII. JOHN MACDONALD,

Tenth of Clanranald, who, in 1622-23, entered into a contract of fidelity with Donald MacAngus of Glengarry, in which he is described as “ John Moydart, captain of Clanranald,” and by which they mutually bind and oblige each other, their servants, and tenants, to assist and concur with one another against all mortal enemies. In 1625, he entered into an agreement with Sir Donald Mackay of Strathnaver, by which he resigned in favour of Mackay the superiority of the lands of Arasaig and Moydart, obtaining a feu-charter of them on the 7th of April, in the same year, in his own favour. This charter was confirmed by the crown on the 22nd of February, 1627. On the 1st of August in the latter year, Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat granted him a precept of *clare constat* of the lands of Skirrough, Benbecula, and Gartgimines, of which Sir Donald, by charter from the crown, obtained the superiority in 1614, while Sir Donald of Clanranald was under attainder, as already stated. On the precept of 1614 infeftment followed on the 1st and 2nd of March, 1629. On the 18th of September, 1627, he was served heir in special to his father in the 21 merk lands of Eigg, which are “ ex antiquo quondam Joanni M'Allister avo dict. quondam Domini Donaldi M'Allane, hæredibus suis et assignatis hæreditarie datas concessas et depositas ” ; and the other lands which had

been erected into the barony of Castletirrim by charter in favour of his father in 1610. On this retour a precept from Chancery was obtained, and infeftment followed on the 3rd of March, 1629. On the 13th of May, 1630, he was served heir in general to Allan, his grandfather, and to his great-grandfather, John Moydartach. Having made up titles, he made an assedation of the lands of Dalilea, Langel, and others, to John Ranaldson, parson of Islandfinnan, in life-rent, after whose death to Allan M'Ranaldson, his brother's son, also in life-rent, and on the death of Allan to his son for a term of nineteen years. Infeftment duly followed. In 1629 John "resigned the lands of Moydart and Arisaig into the hands of Sir Donald M'Donald of Sleat, who had acquired rights from Sir Donald M'Kay to the direct superiority, and they afterwards granted a charter of them to Lord Lorn, in whose person a second intermediate superiority vested ; and in this way the family of Argyll were, till lately, in possession of the superiority of a considerable part of the Clanranald estate".* This charter is dated 18th December, 1633, and 1st of April, 1634. On the same date Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, with Clanranald's consent, executed a charter of the lands of Skirrough in favour of Lord Lorn, to be held of Sir Donald. About this period the Mackenzies of Kintail appear to have obtained possession of the superiority ; for we find that, "in 1633, George Mackenzie was served heir to his brother, Colin, Earl of Seafort, Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, in the 27 mark lands of Moydart and the 24 mark lands of Arrasack".†

John took a prominent part in the wars of Montrose, already described under the FAMILIES of SLEAT and GLENGARRY. Clanranald joined the famous Montrose and General Alexander Macdonald, son of Colla Ciotach, at Inverlochy, in 1645, and took a distinguished part in all the victories of the campaign. Clanranald soon after, his number of troops being small, returned to his own country to raise his followers, when he found the garrison of Min-

* History of the Family, 1819, p. 119.

† Origines Parochiales Scotiæ, vol. ii., p. 203.

garry had been attacked by the Earl of Argyll. He immediately went to its relief, defeated the earl, reinforced the garrison, laid waste the whole of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, and returned to Castletirrim, where he found General Alexander Macdonald, who had in the meantime heard of the distress of his friends at Mingarry and hastened to their relief. Finding his services unnecessary in consequence of Clanranald's action, he halted at Castletirrim, where he was introduced to Donald, Clanranald's eldest son, "a young man of great resolution and bravery," to whom he gave a command in his army. From thence they proceeded to Arasaig and Moydart, where they were joined by Donald Gorm, first of Scotus, uncle of Glengarry, and raised all the men of Moydart and Glengarry. Proceeding to Lochaber, they were there joined by Donald Glas of Keppoch, with the men of the Braes of Lochaber, the Stewarts of Appin, the Lairds of Glencoe and Glen Nevis, and a considerable body of the Camerons. This body, soon after, met Montrose at Blair-Athol, whither they had marched.

Here a council of war was held, immediately on the arrival of the Highlanders, to fix upon their winter quarters, as the severe weather was fast approaching. Montrose recommended a descent on the Lowlands, but the Highlanders preferred a raid to Argyllshire, to revenge themselves on their enemy, Gillespie Gruamach. Montrose expressed doubt at there being a sufficient supply of food for such an army to pass them over the winter procurable in the county, when Angus MacAlain Duibh, a distinguished soldier and marksman from Glencoe, replied, "There is not a farm, or half a farm, under MacCailein, but what I know every foot of it ; and if good water, tight houses, and fat cows will do for you, there is plenty to be had". They immediately marched, the various chiefs acting independently of Montrose to a considerable extent in these cattle-lifting excursions, on their way to Argyll. "John of Moidart and the Clanranald, with some of the Keppoch men, were the most active on these detours from the line of march ; and upon one occasion they returned to the camp

with 1000 head of cattle." They were soon marching on Inveraray, where Argyll was, at the time making arrangements for a meeting of his retainers, whom he called together. He had declared "that he would rather lose a hundred thousand crowns than that any mortal should know the passes by which an armed force could penetrate his country, even in the middle of summer. The month of December was now far advanced, and, to his utter amazement and terror, the herds and shepherds rushed from the mountain pastures with the astounding intelligence that Montrose and the Highlanders were within a few miles of the Castle of Inveraray. The earl immediately escaped to sea by a fishing boat, leaving his friends and the whole county to the mercy of the enemy. The town of Inveraray was burnt to ashes. The army marched in three divisions, one under Montrose, one under Alexander Macdonald, his Lieut.-General, and the third under Clanranald. "Thus he traversed, by separate routes, the whole district; which was wasted—even as Argyll had wasted Athole and the Braes of Angus, and burnt the 'Bonny house of Airlie'. The clans laid the whole face of the country in ashes, killing all whom they met marching to Inveraray (amounting, it is said, to 895 men-at-arms), sweeping off its flocks and herds from every valley, glen, and mountain that owned the sway of MacCailinmor."* A contemporary writer states that the Highlanders plundered and destroyed wherever they came, and "spared none that were fit to carry arms, and, in particular, they put to the sword all the men whom they met going in arms to the rendezvous appointed by Argyll; nor did they desist till they had driven all the men who were fit for service out of the country, or at least obliged them to retire to lurking holes known to none but themselves. They drove all their cattle, and burnt their villages and cottages to the ground; thus retaliating upon Argyll the treatment he had given to others, he himself being the first who had practised this cruel method of waging war against the innocent country people, by fire and devastation.

* Napier's Life and Times of Montrose, 289-291.

Nor did they deal more gently with the people of Lorn, and the neighbouring parts who acknowledged Argyll's authority." * This expedition must have been of an atrocious character. Another contemporary writer informs us that they burnt and slew over the whole country, "and left no house or hold, except impregnable strengths, unburnt, their corns, goods, and gear, and left not a four-footed beast in his [Argyll's] haill lands; and such as would not drive, they houghed and slew, that they should never make stead".† The Clanranald and Athole men returned home with the booty from Argyll, promising to return to Montrose whenever they were called upon to do so.

We again find them, soon after, on the 2nd of February, 1645, taking a prominent part in the battle of Inverlochy, where, according to the last quoted authority, "the Captain of Clanranald, Maclean, and Glengarie were in the middle," round the Royal Standard, under the immediate command of Montrose himself, who commanded the centre. They took a distinguished share in the battle at Auldearn, victoriously fought on the 9th of May, 1645, where "the brave, hardy Clan Macdonald, and the equally brave and hardy Clanranalds, all fought like true heroes without the least fear of strokes or shot".‡ The Clanranalds, with the other Macdonalds, were at Montrose's last great victory at Kilsyth, where, as usual, they greatly distinguished themselves under the immediate command of their chief, who had just returned from a recruiting expedition in the Highlands, bringing with him 700 Macleans and 500 of his own clan. He was accompanied by his son Donald, already referred to, a youth at this date of only twenty years of age, who greatly distinguished himself throughout the whole campaign. On this occasion Montrose unfortunately stated, in presence of many of his officers, that, though Clanranald had brought a great addition to the camp, he had provided nothing to maintain them, while all the other

* Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.

† Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. ii., p. 269—1702 Ed.

‡ Red Book of Clanranald.

clans had. Clanranald indignantly replied that the swords of his men could supply them with everything necessary for their maintenance at all times and in any circumstances. This did not quite satisfy Montrose, and dispute would have followed had not Alexander Macdonald (MacColla) intervened, stating that he knew the Clanranald men well, and would become personally responsible that by next evening they would bring in as much provender as any of the other clans. He then turned to young Clanranald, directing him to get his men ready by themselves, and to prepare for a foray next morning. Donald was not slow in executing these orders. He marched his men to the lands of the Earl Marischall, and, though they had been pretty well wasted on previous occasions, "he brought back with him a booty, not only surpassing that furnished by any other, but one that served the whole army for months. This brave action pleased Montrose, and induced him to apologise for his hasty expression." The author of the Red Book informs us that "Young Donald and his men brought more *creachs* to the camp than any others. Many of the Highlanders, when sent to drive a prey, drove it on to their own countries without asking the general's leave. John of Moidart would allow none of his men to leave him ; but there was another reason for this, namely, that it was not easy for the men from the Islands to drive their prey home from the low country ; hence the raising of creachs fell to their share all summer. Young Donald took a large prey from the Lord Marischall's country, and from the Mearns and Angus ; an old man, whom they met there, told them that the Mearns had not been used so since Donald of the Isles *creached*, the year he fought the battle of Harlaw." The same chronicler, after describing various preliminaries of the battle, states that "Montrose held a Council of War, and referred it to his whole army whether to fight or retreat. All declared they would rather fight than retreat. Yet the troops had been long without food. Montrose sent his trumpet with a challenge, at which the great army gave a shout, and drew out in

order of battle, 3,000 pikemen and 11,000 in battalions behind these, and you may think it was hard work for our small numbers to face. The fight was hard. The Highlanders had 4000 foot and 500 horses ; and they fixed their shirts between their legs. The horsemen had white shirts over their armour. We advanced gallantly against a battery of great guns. Battle commenced by an excellent regiment of Scotch and Irish good marksmen, Major Lauchlin and Mac Coll directing and exhorting them. Donald, son of the Captain of Clanranald, and Donald MacEachain Oig Maclean, strove who should first engage. Donald and his men, and Patrick Caoch Macgregor and his men, in one regiment—Clanranald gave the assault, and young Donald was the first man who leaped the intrenchments, and his people after him. The enemy was completely routed.” Napier explains as to the “white shirts above their armour,” that it would rather seem that Montrose had ordered them to disencumber themselves of their heavy armour that was over their shirts, for they had to charge up hill in the middle of a hot August.

In the retreat from Perth, leading up to the battle of Kilsyth, we are told that “Donald, the son of the Captain of Clanranald, had the honour of bringing up the rear, which was under the immediate command of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Many individual feats of bravery were performed, and those of young Donald were not the least conspicuous. At one time, by a gallant manœuvre, he cut off the entire advance of the enemy ; at another time he opposed his chosen band against ten times their number, who obstinately defended a ford, and was successful.” At the battle of Kilsyth, a slight difference arose between Donald and Maclean as to who should assume chief command of their immediate followers. It is thus related in the Clanranald Family History :—“The action commenced by a fire of cannon and musketry from the Covenanters, and the attack by the king’s forces, with a regiment of Irish commanded by Major Macdonald, and directed by Sir Alexander Macdonald. The gallant regiment com-

manded by Donald, son of the Captain of Clanranald, and by Maclean, were ordered to their relief. An unfortunate difference had existed between these two as to precedence. Each maintained that he was entitled to command the other ; on this occasion Maclean desired Donald to place himself under his command. From Donald's situation he was rather in the rear, but, regardless of disputes of this kind, he pushed through Maclean's regiment with his men, and was himself the first who gained the trenches of the enemy. His men followed and drove all before them, striking terror wherever they went. By this bold and decisive action the battle of Kilsyth was in a great measure gained. It was fought on the 14th of August, 1645. The Covenanters lost nearly 4000 men, while the loss of Montrose did not amount to 100. After the battle of Kilsyth, Montrose marched to Hamilton ; and nearly the whole of Scotland submitted to him. While there the Captain of Clanranald and his son retired to their own country exhausted by the many engagements they had been in." At the same time all the Western Highlanders left Montrose, and marched westward under their brilliant name-sake, Alexander Macdonald, son of Colla Ciotach, now Captain-General of the whole army, immediately next in rank to Montrose himself, and a warrior-knight of great renown. From that day, the moment on which he lost the active support of the Highlanders in the field, the star of the great Montrose began to wane, and the end is already known to every schoolboy ; but the Clanranald continued as true to him in his misfortunes as they had ever been in the days of his great victories.

Wishart thus describes the departure of the Highlanders :—Many of them, "being loaded with spoil, deserted privately, and soon after returned to their own country ; their officers and leaders also openly demanded liberty to go home for a short time. They pretended that, as the Covenanters had at that time no army within the kingdom, there was the less occasion for their presence ; and as their corn had been all destroyed and their houses burnt by

the enemy, there was an absolute necessity for their going home, tho' but for a few weeks, in order to repair their habitations, and lay up some winter provisions for their wives and families ; therefore they earnestly begged a short furlough ; and, as an inducement to obtain it, they solemnly promised to return in less than forty days in greater strength and numbers. Montrose, perceiving that they were fully resolved to leave him, and that it was not in his power to detain them, as they were all volunteers, and served without pay, thought it most expedient to dismiss them with a good grace, in order to ingratiate himself the more with them, and encourage them to return. He praised the bravery of the soldiers, and in the king's name returned his thanks to the officers for their services ; and entreated them to be as expeditious in settling their domestic affairs as possible, so that they might return against the appointed day, under the conduct of Alexander Macdonald, whom, at his own earnest desire, he appointed their captain. Macdonald, in a formal oration, returned thanks in all their names to the Lord-Governor for his great condescension and gave his solemn promise as a security for their speedy return. However he had secretly resolved not to return, and actually never after saw Montrose. He carried off with him above three thousand Highlanders, all very brave men, and the flower of the army ; and not satisfied with these, he privately seduced a hundred and twenty of the very best of the Irish, and carried them along with him also as a life-guard.”*

After the army was disbanded in May, 1645, and peace concluded with the Scottish army at Newark, the Committee of Estates instructed General Middleton to grant remission on certain conditions to those who still held out. Among them was Clanranald, who refused to accept the terms offered, but retired sullenly to his stronghold of Castletirrim, where, although General Leslie and the Marquis of Argyll over-ran and wasted the greater portion of the adjoining country, he was left undisturbed. Here he

* Memoirs of Montrose, pp. 137-138.

for a time remained "firmly attached to his Sovereign, whose son he had afterwards the happiness to see restored to the throne of his ancestors". When the Earl of Antrim, in October, 1646, proposed a new levy by the Royalist leaders for the rescue of the king, Clanranald pledged himself to raise 1300 men, of the proposed army of 30,000.*

On the 15th of August, 1645, Clanranald entered into a bond of fidelity with Allan MacAlastair, Laird of Morar, who bound and obliged himself, his heirs and successors, to be bondsman and true servant to Clanranald, "fiar of Moydart," and to obey any of his heirs and successors, while Clanranald and his son, on the other hand, bound and obliged themselves and their heirs and successors "to stand be him in any where he will cause do, as their chief should do". Shortly after the landing of Charles II. at Garmouth, in Moray, on the 23rd of June, 1650, John went and paid his respects to him, after which he retired to his Island possessions in Uist, where he continued to reside for the remainder of his life.

He married Moir, or Marion, daughter of Sir Roderick Macleod of Macleod, known as "Ruari Mor," and by this alliance terminated a feud which arose out of a previous marriage, and long existed between the two families. By her he had issue—

1. Donald, his heir.
2. Moir, or Marion, who married Lauchlan Maclean, eighth of Coll.
3. Catharine, who married Macneill of Barra.
4. Anne, who married Ranald Macdonald, second of Benbecula, whose son Donald, afterwards, on the failure of John's male issue, succeeded as head of the house of Clanranald.

He died in 1670, at a very advanced age, in the Island of Eriska, South Uist, and was buried at Tomar, when he was succeeded by his only son,

* Macdonells of Antrim, p. 274.

XVIII. DONALD MACDONALD,

Eleventh of Clanranald, with whom the reader is already acquainted, he having taken, during his father's life, a prominent and distinguished share in the wars of Montrose. After the disastrous battle of Philipshaugh, Montrose returned to the north. The Earl of Antrim soon after landed at Kintyre, where he met Montrose. Many of the clans, among others the Clanranald, agreed to join him, but the king's order to disband the army put an end to further proceedings at the time. Donald was instructed by his father to proceed to Isla, and dispossess the Campbells. He was at the same time invited by the Earl of Antrim to join him in assisting the troops of King Charles in Ireland; whereupon, Donald, with 300 men, embarked at Uist in 1648; proceeded through the Sound of Mull to Colonsay, and thence to the Sound of Isla, where he captured a large vessel belonging to the Estates of Scotland, laden with barley. He then proceeded to Ireland, and quartered his men at Kilkenny, where he met Glengarry and a large body of Highlanders, who afterwards took part in several engagements, including the capture of Belfast, Knockfergus, Coleraine, and Londonderry. In all these proceedings Donald of Clanranald, who held high rank in the Highland regiment, took a distinguished share. He remained with the king's army until its final overthrow, when both Clanranald and Glengarry were taken prisoners and sent to Kilkenny. Here they were kept in durance for a considerable time. They, however, ultimately secured their liberty through the influence and intercession of the Duchess of Buckingham, who married, as her second husband, the Earl of Antrim, after which they returned to the Highlands; Clanranald, in due course, landing safely in Uist.

Soon after the death of his father he made up titles to the property, but the part he and his family took in the recent wars involved him deeply in debt, in consequence of which he was obliged for the purpose of raising money, to

grant a wadset of Moydart and Arasaig to Sir James Macdonald, for 4000 merks. It was, however, afterwards redeemed. On the 9th of January, 1674, he passed a signature of resignation and confirmation of the lands of Arasaig, Moydart, Skirrough, Benbecula, and the Island of Eigg, on which a charter afterwards followed. In April, 1684, he obtained, from the Bishop of Lismore, a charter of the Island of Canna, in the signature to which he designated himself "Donald Macdonald of Moydart, Captain and Chief of ye family of Clanranald". In the charter itself he is described as "*Capitano seu principi familiæ de Clanranald*".

He married his cousin, Moir, or Marion, daughter of John Macleod, XIV. of Macleod, and sister of Roderick Macleod, XV., and of John Macleod, XVI. of Macleod, all three of whom followed each other in succession as chiefs of Macleod. By her he had issue—

1. John, who died in infancy.
2. Allan, who succeeded his father as XII. of the family.
3. Ranald, who succeeded his brother Allan as XIII. chief.
4. Margaret; married Donald Macdonald, third of Benbecula, who afterwards became head of the clan, and succeeded to the estates as XIV. of Clanranald and nearest male heir on the death of Ranald.

5 and 6. Marion and Janet, both of whom died without issue.

Donald died in 1686 in the Island of Canna, and was buried at Tomar. He was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

XIX. ALLAN MACDONALD,

Twelfth of Clanranald, who was only about sixteen years of age when his father died. He was placed under the tutorship of his brother-in-law, Donald Macdonald of Benbecula,

who was at the time nearest male-heir to Clanranald, after Allan himself and his brother Ranald. Benbecula, afterwards known as Tutor of Clanranald, spared no pains in the education of his ward, whose natural sympathies in favour of the Stuarts were strengthened by the traditions of his house and the personal influence of Benbecula, himself a firm supporter of the Stuart succession and a young man otherwise of great ability and judgment. Both tutor and ward came to meet Viscount Dundee when, in May, 1689, he joined Macdonald of Keppoch at Inverness, and there offered their services. These being joyfully accepted, they returned home and raised their vassals. Dundee proceeded to Lochaber with Keppoch, where he was joined by Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat and his eldest son, with 500 Skye Macdonalds. Proceeding from thence to meet General Mackay at Blair-Athol, he was joined on the way by Clanranald, by his tutor, and a body of 700 men. These were formed into a regiment under the tutor's command, with the rank of Colonel. They took a leading part in the victory of Killiecrankie, in which "the Highlanders threw away their plaids, haversacks, and all other utensils, and marched resolutely and deliberately in their shirts and doublets, with their fusils, targets, and pistols ready, down the hill on the enemy, and received Mackay's third fire before they pierced his line, in which many of the Highland army fell, particularly Lord Viscount Dundee, their General, the terror of the Whigs, the supporter of King James, and the glory of his country. Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say there scarce ever were such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breasts; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at a blow; picks and small swords

were cut like willows." * Other particulars of this campaign have been already given under SLEAT and GLENGARRY [pp. 220-222 and 344-346], and are well known to the reader.

The Proclamation issued by the government, offering protection in their persons and property to all who had been in arms, if they would surrender and take the oath of allegiance, before the 1st of January, 1692, was spurned by Clanranald, who proceeded, with his brother Ranald, to France, where he completed his education, under the eye of James VII., and became one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his age. Having resided for some time at the Court of St. Germain, he obtained a commission in the French service under the Duke of Berwick, and soon acquired a distinguished reputation as a brave and gallant officer. When peace was restored he returned to St. Germain, and was glad to learn that, through the influence of his tutor, Donald Macdonald of Benbecula, and other influential friends in Scotland, his estates had been preserved to him.

While in France Clanranald made the acquaintance of Penelope, a daughter of Colonel Mackenzie, who had been Governor of Tangiers under Charles II. "This young lady was not more distinguished by the beauty of her person than by the brilliancy of her wit and sweetness of temper. She was universally admired at a Court famed for the beauty of its women, and her prudence added not a little to the lustre of her charms. With such a person, possessing such a mind, it cannot be doubted that she had various offers of marriage, but she preferred Clanranald to all others, and satisfied that, with such a man, happiness could be obtained anywhere, she at once agreed to marry and accompanying him to his native hills."† They soon returned to Scotland, and arrived safely in South Uist, where, though remote from society, "yet so completely did their tempers accord with each other, that their uniform hospitality, polite attention, and affable manners drew

* Memoirs of Dundee, by an Officer in the Army, 1714, pp. 19-20.

† History of the Family, p. 148.

company from all parts of the kingdom, and a little Court, well befitting that of a chief, was actually formed," which was favourably spoken of in all classes of society throughout the country.

On his return to Uist, Clanranald made up titles to his estates, as his father's heir, by precept, dated 28th of July, 1704, and was infefted thereon in November and December, 1706.

It is generally believed that he was in correspondence with the Court of St. Germain's before the rising of 1715, for no sooner had the Earl of Mar raised his standard at Braemar than Clanranald sailed from Uist with his followers, and summoned his vassals of Moydart, Arasaig, and the small isles. He is among the chiefs charged to appear in Edinburgh to give security for his good behaviour, by a certain day, and refusing, he was denounced, with other leaders of the clans, a rebel against the crown. His reply was at once to declare openly for the Chevalier, in whose service he was appointed Colonel. He received orders to march into Argyllshire to harass the Earl and prevent the Campbells and other neighbouring clans from joining the government forces; and while on his way he was joined at Fort-William by a body of Camerons and Macleans, with whom he attempted to surprise the garrison at Inverlochy. In this he failed, but on the 17th of September he captured two redoubts, which, however, he was unable to retain for want of artillery. On the 6th of October he arrived at Strathfillan with about 700 of his own clan, and was joined by Glengarry and several other chiefs with a considerable following, the army on the 16th numbering some 2400 men, with whom on the following day he marched back in the direction of Inveraray, arriving there on the 19th. The town was defended by a large body of Campbells, who refused a demand to surrender, made in writing, by Clanranald and Glengarry; but Sir Duncan and Colonel Campbell came out to meet them next morning on a rising ground between the town and the invaders' camp, when the two Macdonald chiefs stated that

the Earl of Mar's orders were to respect the country if they disbanded their men, but that, if they kept in arms, it was to be laid waste. Next morning a message was received, Lord Isla (the Earl's brother), who was in command, declining to treat with any one in arms against the government. The Macdonalds immediately proceeded to waste Kintyre and the Earl's lands in the district, after which they returned to Strathfillan. This raid kept many of the Campbells at home to protect their property and friends, and Clanranald compelled many others to pledge themselves not to move out of the district. This proved of great advantage to Mar. On the 3d of November the camp was broken up, and the whole body marched by Castle Drummond to Perth, where they joined the main army, under the Earl of Mar; and about the same time, Sir Donald Macdonald, Seaforth, the Chisholm, and other Highlanders, made their appearance. On the 9th a council of war was called, at which it was decided to march on Dunblane. The history of this march and the battle of Sheriffmuir are sufficiently well known. All the Macdonalds behaved with their wonted bravery and valour, and no one more so than the gallant Chief of Clanranald, who fell mortally wounded—"a man universally esteemed and respected by foe as well as friend, and whose memory is still cherished in the Highlands with the utmost fondness". Even Patten, the renegade author of "The History of the Rebellion," after stating that the Captain of Clanranald, with 1000 men, all with their chief, were against the government and in the rebellion, says:—"This clan did act the part of men that are resolute and brave, under the command of their chief, who, for his good parts and genteel accomplishments, was looked upon as the most gallant and generous young gentleman among the clans; maintaining a splendid equipage; keeping a just deference to the people of all sorts; void of pride or ill-humour. He performed the part of one that knew the part of a complete soldier; but a fatal bullet from the king's forces, through the body, disabled him, but did not daunt him; so finding a necessity of yielding to the fate of his wound, he withdrew,

and told he could do no more ; only his well-wishes attended his king and his country. He was lamented by both parties that knew him." It was on this melancholy occasion that Glengarry exclaimed to those who were disposed to mourn over the fallen hero, " Let us have revenge to-day : mourning to-morrow "—a suggestion which was instantly acted upon with terrible effect.

As already stated, he married Penelope, daughter of Colonel Mackenzie, Governor of Tangiers, without issue. He was interred at Inverpephry, in the burying-place of the noble family of Perth, when he was succeeded by his only brother,

XX. RANALD MACDONALD,

Thirteenth of Clanranald. During the rebellion of 1715 he was in France. When the news of his brother's death at Sheriffmuir reached him, he determined to set off for the Highlands, but before he could start information arrived that the rebellion was suppressed. He therefore decided to remain until he could hear further particulars from his friends at home. Intelligence soon came that he was among those who had been attainted, and that steps were being taken to deprive him of the family estates. He delayed coming home ; but an excellent friend of the family, Alexander Mackenzie, Principal Clerk of Session in Edinburgh, interested himself in Ranald's behalf, purchased large debts which had been accumulated by the late chief and by Ranald himself, mainly for prosecution of the Stuart cause, and got them all vested in his own person. He then raised an action of abjudication in the Court of Session against all the Clanranald estates, for the accumulated sum of £95,000 Scots, and obtained a decree in his own favour, all with the view of handing the property over to the representative of the family so soon as a pardon could be procured or the attainder removed. Ranald, however, who was never married, died at St. Germain's in 1725, before a pardon

could be procured or the estates conveyed to him. Thus the male line of Sir Donald Macdonald, ninth of Clanranald, became extinct, and the dignity and succession reverted to the nearest male heir of Ranald Macdonald, immediate younger brother of Sir Donald last named, as follows :—

RANALD MACDONALD, second son of Allan, eighth of Clanranald, and immediate younger brother of Sir Donald, ninth of Clanranald, by his wife, a daughter of Macleod of Macleod, received from his father, Allan, the lands of Barrow in Benbecula, Gartgimines, Baile-nan-Cailleach, Baile-finlay, Bailemeanach, Uachdar, Benbecula (called the two Airds), Knockworlane, and part of Machar-meanach ; also the lands of Ardness, Lochyilt, and Essan in Arasaig. Afterwards, John Macdonald, tenth of Clanranald, granted to this Ranald and to his son, Ranald Og, a feu-charter, dated 12th of April, 1625, for infesting themselves in these lands, and infestment followed in favour of the elder Ranald, recorded at the Chancery of Ross on the 21st of June following. These deeds are afterwards confirmed by the superior, the Earl of Argyll, on the 14th of March, 1633.

Ranald, son of Allan, ninth chief, and immediate younger brother of Sir Donald, ninth of Clanranald, married, first, Maria, daughter of Archibald Macdonald, brother of Donald Gorm Mor, seventh, and sister of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat. By this lady (who was forcibly seized and ravished by Sir Lauchlan Mackinnon of Strathardale, and for which act he was afterwards forfeited in 1722) Ranald had no issue. He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of Angus Macdonald of Dunyveg, with issue—

1. Ranald, designed “Ranald Og,” to distinguish him from his father.

2. Angus Og, so called to distinguish him from his uncle, Angus of Clanranald. From Angus Og descended the families of Dalilea and Milton.

Ranald was succeeded in the lands of Benbecula and others above mentioned by his eldest son,

RANALD OG MACDONALD, who had some difference with the chief of Clanranald about the payment of his feu-duties and services. This landed him in an action in the Court of Session, where judgment went against him. They soon, however, arranged matters, and became reconciled. On the 7th of October, 1652, he was infeft as fiar upon his father's charter of 1625, and the infeftment is duly registered in the Chancery of Ross. On the 16th of December, 1655, he obtained from John Macdonald, tenth of Clanranald, a discharge of all feu-duties and services; and on the 25th of March, 1675, he entered into an agreement with Donald, eleventh of Clanranald, by which his lands were to be held direct from the superior, the Earl of Argyll; but this arrangement was afterwards departed from before it was finally ratified.

Ranald married, first, a daughter of Macneil of Barra, by whom he had issue—

1. Donald, who succeeded, as fourteenth of Clanranald, on the death, without issue, of Ranald, thirteenth chief, and of whom presently.

Ranald married, secondly, in 1653, Anne (or Agnes) Macdonald, daughter of John Macdonald, tenth of Clanranald,* with issue—

2. James, to whom his father gave the lands of Belfinlay, Ardbeg, Ardmore, and others. This James had a son, Allan of Belfinlay, who also had a son, Allan of Belfinlay, who married Jane, eldest daughter of Lachlan Mackinnon of Corry, the entertainer of Pennant and Dr. Johnson, with issue—Allan, a Major in the 55th Regiment, who married Flora, daughter of Peter Nicolson of Ardmore, with issue—Captain Allan Macdonald, now of Waternish, Isle of Skye, and others.

* There is a dispensation, "dated at Ellan Raald, the 8th of June, 1653," granted for this marriage by "Dominicus Dingin," under authority of a commission from the Pope, "to dispensate in such business," written on the 10th of December, 1651. The parties are described as "in the second and third degree of consanguinity," whereas all marriages "contracted within the fourth degree, inclusively, are, by the universal Church of God, prohibited and declared of no force or value without a special dispensation from the said Church".

3. Donald Og, who died without issue.

4. Moir, or Marion.

On the death of Ranald, thirteenth of Clanranald, in 1725, in France, he was succeeded by his cousin,

XXII. DONALD MACDONALD,

Third of Benbecula, as fourteenth of Clanranald, tutor of Allan—the hero of Killiecrankie and Sherifffmuir. We have already noticed the prominent share which he took in the military annals of the nation during the wars of Dundee. After Killiecrankie he returned to his island home in Benbecula, and took no part in the Rebellion of 1715. Donald, eleventh of Clanranald, granted him a charter of nova-damus of all his lands, dated 16th of March, 1680. A considerable sum of money had been lodged with Alexander Mackenzie, Principal Clerk of Session, Edinburgh, with the view of procuring a pardon for Ranald, the late chief, and purchasing and conveying the estates to him. This money was obtained by Mrs. Penelope Macdonald, widow of Allan killed at Sherifffmuir, whose attachment to the clan and fond recollection of her distinguished husband cannot be better expressed than in the words of the disposition by which Mr. Mackenzie afterwards conveyed the estates to Donald by her instructions. After narrating the debts, the document proceeds:—"Seeing it was at the earnest desire and request of Mrs. Penelope Mackenzie, Dowager of the deceased Allan Macdonald of Moydart, Captain of Clanranald, that I did purchase the several debts above narrated, affecting the estate of Moydart, and thereupon obtained a decree and charter of adjudication in my favour; and that it hath all along been in her view, as it was still her constant care, from the tender regard which she bore to the memory of her said deceased husband, to have the estate of Moydart settled upon, and conveyed to, the said Donald, elder of Benbecula, who (by the failure of the said Allan Mac-

donald, and of Ranald Macdonald, late of Moydart, both now deceased, without heirs-male lawfully procreate of their, or either of their bodies) is now the nearest and lawful heir-male of the family of Moydart, and the undoubted chief and Captain of Clanranald." For these reasons Mr. Mackenzie, by this disposition, conveyed over the whole estates to Donald in life-rent; after him to Ranald, his son, in life-rent; and thereafter, in fee, to Ranald, grandson of Donald, who afterwards succeeded in due course as fifteenth chief of the family, and who became so well known, during his father's life-time, in connection with Prince Charles, Flora Macdonald, and the Rebellion of 1745. The disposition is dated 5th of December, 1726, and infeftment followed thereon on 28th of September, and 7th, 13th, 17th, 18th, and 19th of October, 1727.

Donald married, first, Margaret, eldest and only surviving daughter of Donald, eleventh, and sister of Allan and Ranald, respectively twelfth and thirteenth of Clanranald; and by this marriage he became heir to his brother-in-law, through his wife, as well as heir-male of the family, on the death, in 1725, of Allan, twelfth chief. By this lady he had an only son—

1. Ranald, his heir.

He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of George Mackenzie of Kildun, by whom he had—

2. Alexander, who obtained the estate and became progenitor of the Macdonalds of Boisdale.

3. Ann, who married John, second son of Lachlan Mackinnon of Strathardale.

He died in 1730, and was succeeded by his son,

XXIII. RANALD MACDONALD,

Fifteenth of Clanranald, who, born in 1692, was in the 39th year of his age. He refused to take any part in the Rebellion of 1745, though earnestly pressed to do so

by Prince Charles, who called upon him immediately on his first arrival in the Long Island. He, however, offered no resistance to his son to join in that unfortunate enterprise ; indeed, once the Prince did embark he extended to him every support and encouragement in his power. The particulars of his life are so well known that it is quite unnecessary to go into lengthy details, but we may quote Home's interesting account of the arrival of the Prince in South Uist, his visit to, and reception by, Clanranald. After describing the voyage and arrival of the *Doutelle* with his Royal Highness on board, Home proceeds to say that "she came to an anchor between South Uist and Eriska, which is the largest of a cluster of small rocky islands that lie off South Uist. Charles immediately went ashore on Eriska. His attendants giving out that he was a young Irish priest, conducted him to the house of the tacksman, who rented all the small island ; of him they learned that Clanranald and his brother Boisdale were upon the Island of South Uist ; that young Clanranald was at Moydart, upon the mainland. A messenger was immediately despatched to Boisdale, who is said to have had great influence with his brother. Charles staid all night on the Island of Eriska, and in the morning returned to his ship. Boisdale came aboard soon after. Charles proposed that he should go with him to the mainland ; assist in engaging his nephew to take arms, and then as his ambassador to Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod. To every one of these proposals Boisdale gave a flat negative, declaring that he would do his utmost to prevent his brother and his nephew from engaging in so desperate an enterprise, assuring Charles that it was needless to send anybody to Skye ; for that he had seen Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod very lately, and was desired by them to acquaint him (if he should come to South Uist, in his way to the Highlands), that they were determined not to join him, unless he brought over with him a body of regular troops. Charles replied in the best manner he could, and, ordering the ship to be unmoored, carried

Boisdale (whose boat hung at the stern) several miles outward to the mainland, pressing him to relent, and give a better answer. Boisdale was inexorable, and, getting into his boat, left Charles to pursue his course, which he did, directly for the coast of Scotland, and, coming to an anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moydart and Arasaig, sent a boat ashore with a letter to young Clanranald." *

Ranald married Margaret, daughter of William Macleod of Bernera, by whom he had issue—

1. Ranald, his heir.

2. Donald, an officer in the British army, who greatly distinguished himself, and was killed with General Wolfe before Quebec.

3. Margaret, who died unmarried.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXIV. RANALD MACDONALD,

Sixteenth of Clanranald, who was, with Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart and his brother, and young Glenaladale, the first to join the Prince in 1745. We cannot do better than continue the account from Home of how young Clanranald finally consented to join His Royal Highness. He proceeds, continuing our previous quotation:—"In a very little time, Clanranald, with his relative Kinlochmoidart, came aboard the *Doutelle*. Charles, almost reduced to despair in his interview with Boisdale, addressed the two Highlanders with great emotion, and, summing his arguments for taking arms, conjured them to assist their Prince, their countryman, in his utmost need. Clanranald and his friend, though well inclined to the cause, positively refused, and told him (one after the other) that to take up arms without concert or support, was to pull down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored. During this conversation, the parties walked back-

* History of the Rebellion.

wards and forwards upon the deck ; a Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, as was the fashion of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was on board. When he gathered from their discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales ; when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their Prince, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and grasped his sword. Charles observed his demeanour, and, turning briskly towards him, called out, 'Will you not assist me?' 'I will, I will,' said Ranald, 'though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword ; I am ready to die for you.' Charles, with a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, saying he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him." Without further deliberation the two Macdonalds declared that they also would join, and use their utmost endeavours to engage their countrymen to take arms. Immediately Charles, with his company, went ashore, and was conducted to Borrodale, a farm which belonged to the estate of Clanranald. Having once decided to join, he proceeded at once to raise his vassals, and command those of Arasaig and Moydart to attend him, and bring their arms. These amounted to about 250 men. A list of their names and arms is still preserved.* The standard being, a few days after, raised at Glenfinnan, they proceeded to Perth, from whence Clanranald, at the head of 500 men, was despatched to Dundee, where he arrived on the 7th of September, and next day, Sunday the 8th, proclaimed James VIII. as King. He then threw open the prison, took possession of all the public arms and ammunition he could find, and allowed all the prisoners their liberty. On the following day he searched several private houses for arms, and in all cases where he found any, he took possession and gave a receipt for them. On the 10th, by special command, he returned and joined the Prince at Perth. From that day he took a distinguished

* Printed in the Appendix to the Clanranald Family History.

part, at the head of his men, in all the proceedings of the Highland army ; at Prestonpans, Gladsmuir, where the Clanranald, with their chief, was placed, as a distinct mark of honour, on the right of the front line ; in the march to England and retreat to Scotland, and in the final and disastrous engagement with the king's troops on Culloden Moor. An eye-witness at Duddingston relates an incident which indicates his position and lofty bearing. " One day young Clanranald was conversing with the Young Pretender with his head covered, and Major Macdonald (Glenaladale) standing behind Clanranald uncovered." He was wounded in the head at Culloden, but managed to escape to his grandmother's house in Inverness, after which he proceeded with his men to Moydart, where he remained in concealment for a considerable period. The king's troops soon followed him, and on one occasion he escaped capture only by a miracle. A mean, base countryman, bribed by the enemy's officers, pointed out his hiding-place, on the side of a steep hill ; but hearing them approach he threw himself down the precipice at the risk of being dashed to pieces on the rocks, and marvellously escaped, though so near as to hear one of the soldiers saying, " the nest is warm, but the bird is flown". A few days after three French ships of war arrived in Loch-nan-uagh, which were placed under Clanranald's command as Commodore, a commission in his favour as such having been brought from France in one of them. Here Clanranald again met the Prince, and strongly recommended him to distribute a sum of forty thousand pounds, brought from France for his use by these ships, among the more necessitous of those who had suffered so much in his cause, and were now without houses, food, or shelter ; the whole country having been given to the flames, and all their cattle driven away by the king's troops.

During the whole time Prince Charles was in hiding in the Long Island, Clanranald remained concealed in Moydart, waiting an opportunity to remove to some other part of the country, from which he could effect his escape to the

Continent. This he ultimately managed in spite of the attempts of the government to capture him. He succeeded in finding his way to Brahan Castle, the seat of the Sea-forths, where he met a daughter of Basil Hamilton, and sister of the Earl of Selkirk, whom he had engaged to marry some time before. She was a relation of his own, her mother being a sister of Ranald's grandmother. The marriage was celebrated in presence of Lady Fortrose, her husband, Viscount Fortrose, who had his forfeited estates but not the titles restored to him some time previously, being from home, and supposed to know nothing of his interesting visitors ; for he kept out of the Rebellion, and was, so far, on friendly terms with the government. Leaving Brahan Castle, Clanranald and his lady proceeded to Cromarty, where they embarked on board a ship bound for London under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Black. They arrived at their destination safely and unmolested, and soon after effected their escape to Paris. Here, finding it necessary to procure some means of subsistence, he endeavoured to obtain an introduction to those in power in France. Prince Charles shortly after came to Paris, and Clanranald requested his Royal Highness to introduce him to Louis XV., "to whom the Prince declared that he was the only person who had served him without fee or reward. He soon after got some military employment from the Court of France, and continued so employed until he became acquainted with Marshal Saxe, who appointed him his aide-de-camp ; and he remained for several years in that capacity, until the marshal's death, with the official notification of which to the king he was charged, and delivered to his majesty, at a public levee, when the king seemed so affected that he shed tears, and said to the company around him that he had lost his right arm. During this time his lady had become pregnant, and returned to Britain for the purpose of being delivered, and naturalising the child. She went to reside with her grandmother, the widow of Lord Basil Hamilton, at Edinburgh, in whose house she was delivered of a son, and died a few

days afterwards. Many of the chiefs who were engaged in the unfortunate Rebellion, refusing to deliver themselves up, a bill of attainder was brought against them, which received the Royal assent on the 4th of June, 1746. In this bill was included the names of *Donald* Macdonald, younger of Clanranald, Donald Macdonald of Lochgarry, Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch, Archibald Macdonald of Barrisdale, Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, and others. Many suffered the penalty of the law, and, amongst others, Kinlochmoidart. He was executed at Carlisle on the 18th of October. As to Clanranald, by mistake he was named *Donald* instead of *Ranald* in the act of attainder passed against him. His friends took advantage of this, and, after some years' delay, he succeeded in recovering his estates, to which he retired, and became a steady and loyal subject of the king. It is pretty well known that of all those who joined Prince Charles, none was more devoted to him than young Clanranald, or acted more from less interested motives. He uniformly refused all pecuniary reward, maintained his own troops, and, it is said, for this truly noble conduct, the Prince signified his intention of conferring on him the dignity of a peer of the realm, by the title of Earl of Clanranald."*

All the transactions to which we have referred took place during the life of his father, who, being an old man even at the close of the Rebellion, a few years later, on the 28th of November, 1753, quite unable to attend to any business, he renounced the life-rent of the estates in favour of his son Ranald, by whose energy and business habits the debts of the property were soon paid. For the rest of his days Ranald lived quietly and unostentatiously on his property.

He married, first, Mary, daughter of Basil Hamilton, eventually Earl of Selkirk, younger son of the Duke of Hamilton, and by her (born 8th of May, 1720; died 11th of May, 1750) he had issue—

1. Charles James Somerled, who died in his fifth year at

* History of the Family, pp. 170-171

Edinburgh, on the 25th of May, 1755, and was buried at Holyrood.

He married, secondly, Flora, daughter of Mackinnon of Mackinnon, a celebrated beauty, with issue—

2. John, his heir.

3. James, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army.

4. Margaret, who died unmarried.

5. Mary, who died unmarried.

6. Penelope, who married William, seventh Lord Belhaven and Stenton (who died 29th of October, 1814), with issue—(1), Robert Montgomery, who, born in 1793, succeeded as 8th peer; (2), William, born in 1799, in the H.E.I.C.S.; and four daughters, Penelope, Susan Mary, Flora (died in 1810), and Jean (died in 1820). Lady Belhaven died in 1816.

Ranald was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXIV. JOHN MACDONALD,

Seventeenth of Clanranald, quite a youth at his father's death. He travelled for several years on the Continent with a learned tutor, who gave him a very liberal education. On his return home, he obtained a commission and became a Captain in the 22d Dragoons. Having made up titles to the family estates, he soon after retired from the army, and resided chiefly on his property, among his retainers, by whom he was greatly esteemed while he lived, and much lamented on his death, in 1794, at the early age of twenty-nine.

He married, first, Katharine, daughter of the Right Hon. Robert Macqueen of Braxfield, Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, with issue—

1. Reginald George, his heir, born in Edinburgh on the 29th of August, 1788.

2. Robert Johnstone. 3. Donald.

He married, secondly, his second cousin, Jean, daughter of Colin Macdonald, II. of Boisdale, and grand-daughter of

Alexander, first of Boisdale, second son of Donald, fourteenth of Clanranald, without issue.

He died in 1794, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XXV. REGINALD GEORGE MACDONALD,

Eighteenth of Clanranald. He was born in Edinburgh on the 29th of August, 1788, and was thus a minor, only six years of age, when he succeeded to the property. He was first sent to Edinburgh, and afterwards to Eton to complete his education. He then proceeded to the Continent, where he remained for several years. Coming of age in 1809, he returned home, and was soon after appointed to the command of the Long Island Regiment of Invernesshire local Militia, which he held for many years. He represented the Burgh of Plymton (disfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832) in Parliament from 1812 to 1824. He lived to a very old age, and, two years before his death, in 1871, he visited his native land, "and delighted his friends by his never failing vivacity and comparatively youthful appearance". According to the Statistical Account the rental of Clanranald's estate in 1837 was about £4500 per annum; but shortly after that date the property was sold by this chief for a large sum to Colonel Gordon of Cluny, Aberdeenshire.

He married, on the 1st of April, 1812, Lady Caroline Ann Edgcumbe, second daughter of Richard, second Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, by whom (who died 10th of April, 1824) he had issue—

1. Reginald John James-George, his heir, now of Clanranald.

2. Caroline-Sophia, who married, 8th September 1842, the Hon. Charles Cust, second son of John, first Earl of Brownlow, with issue—one son, Ernest-Richmond Charles, and three daughters, one of whom Alice-Marian, married, 9th of September, 1876, her cousin, Allan-Roger-Charles

Porcelli, youngest son of Baron Porcelli, a Sicilian nobleman, who married Sarah Anne, his wife's aunt.

3. Emma-Hamilla, who married, 21st of April, 1840, the Hon. and Rev. Alfred Wodehouse, youngest son of John, second Lord Wodehouse, with issue—Hobart ; Reginald, who died, 25th of August, 1861 ; Charles ; Hamilla-Caroline, who, on the 8th of November, 1876, married Edward Taylor, British vice-consul at Dunkerque ; Ernestine-Emma, who on the 17th of May, 1866, married John Marshall, second son of H. C. Marshall, of Westwood Hall, Leeds ; and Laura-Sophia.

4. Louisa-Emily, who married, Charles-William Marsham, eldest surviving son of Robert Marsham of Stratton Strawless, County of Norfolk, and secondly, 4th December, 1856, Colonel Hugh Fitz-Roy, Grenadier Guards, son of Lord Henry Fitz-Roy.

4. Flora, Maid of Honour to the Queen.

6. Sarah-Anne, who married, in 1848, Baron Porcelli, a Sicilian nobleman, with issue, one of whom married his cousin, as above.

Clanranald married secondly, Anne, daughter of William Cunningham, and widow of Richard Barry Dunning, Lord Ashburton, without issue ; and thirdly, Elizabeth Rebecca Newman, also without issue.

He died at his residence, Clarendon Road, London, on the 11th of March, 1873, in the 85th year of his age, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

XXVI. SIR REGINALD-JOHN JAMES-GEORGE,

Nineteenth and present Clanranald, Vice-Admiral, R.N., K.C.S.I. He married, on the 12th of June, 1855, the Hon. Adelaide Louisa, second daughter of George, fifth Lord Vernon, with issue—

1. Allan Douglas, his heir, born in April, 1856.

2. Angus Roderick, born in April, 1858 ; now in Calcutta.

3. Adelaide Effrida.

THE MACEACHAINN-MACDONALDS.

THIS sept of the Macdonalds is descended from Hector, or, in Gaelic, Eachainn, second son of Roderick Macdonald, third of Moydart and Clanranald, better known among the Highlanders as Ruari MacAlain, by his wife, Margaret, daughter of Donald Balloch, Chief of Clann Ian Mhoir [see p. 369.] Eachainn obtained lands in Morvern, Argyllshire. In 1501, Ewen MacEachainn, son of Hector, or Eachainn MacRuari, was with his chief Allan MacRuari, fourth of Clanranald, and several others, summoned before the Privy Council, to exhibit the rights by which each of them held their lands, but, refusing to attend, on the 10th of December a decret was pronounced against them, in which it is declared that “the said Ewen MacEachainn does wrong in the occupying of the lands of Ardtornish in the Morvern” and he is ordained to “desist and cease therefrom,” that they may be enjoyed by the king’s highness.

The great majority of those who descended from Eachainn and called themselves after him, have, in later times, adopted the more general name of Macdonald. We still, however, meet with the original name in various forms, principally in Argyllshire, such as MacEachan, MacEachren, MacEacharn, MacEachin, Macichan, MacEchern, MacKechnie, and others—all corruptions of the original MacEachainn, or son of Hector. It is impossible to follow the minor septs under these various designations. Indeed, we are quite unable to complete the steps of descent in the main line of the family, and must content ourselves with a very imperfect sketch of its later members. The first of whom we can obtain any historical view is—

CHARLES MAC EACHAINN, or Macdonald. He belonged to the "Sliochd Aonghais Bhuidhe," who "held themselves aloof, and superior to the other MacEachans". He occupied the farms of Kinloid and Keppoch, in Arasaig under Clanranald, where he held the much honoured position, in those days, of Armourer to his chief. He was among the first chosen by Clanranald in 1745 to muster his mainland retainers, and Charles MacEachainn, marched at the head of one hundred and twenty Arasaig Macdonalds to the standard of Prince Charles at Glenfinnan, and, under the banner of his chief, he took a distinguished part in all the struggles of the subsequent campaign. After the battle of Culloden, MacEachainn missed the opportunity of escaping to France with his other friends and the Prince. From the position he took under Clanranald in the recent rebellion he became a marked man, and every effort was made by the government troops to capture him. Failing in this, he was, in due course, outlawed; but taking refuge in Ardnamurchan among his friends, he managed to escape capture, being carefully concealed and protected by the Rev. Alexander Macdonald, an Episcopalian minister, better known as "Maighistir Alastair," father of the famous Jacobite Gaelic Bard, "Alastair MacMhaighistir Alastair," parish schoolmaster of Ardnamurchan, a Presbyterian elder, and a Roman Catholic in succession. The bard was also, with his brother Angus, a wanderer from Cumberland's blood-hounds in similar circumstances, and for the same cause as MacEachainn. On Clanranald's return from France, Charles MacEachainn's farms were restored to him. His children, two sons and several daughters, were educated by their cousin, the Jacobite Gaelic poet and parish schoolmaster, Alexander Macdonald.

Charles married Marcella, daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Dalilea,* and a cousin of Alexander Macdonald the poet, with issue—

* This Macdonald of Dalilea was out in 1745; and escaped with the Prince to France after Culloden; and wrote a journal and memoirs of the campaign. The Macdonalds held Dalilea until it was sold by Miss Jane Macdonald to

1. John, who became a priest. He was educated, first, in the Seminary of Bourbloch, and afterwards in Spain, where, for seven years, he was Professor of Moral Philosophy in the Catholic College of Vallodolid. He subsequently returned home, and acted as Professor in the Catholic Seminary at Samalaman. He was known as a highly cultured and accomplished scholar. On his return from Spain he was appointed priest in charge of his native parish, and was, on several occasions, offered the Catholic Bishopric of Glasgow, the responsibility of which he felt called upon to decline.

2. Alexander, a doctor of medicine. The second son, ALEXANDER, who on the death of his brother John, became representative of the family, entered King's College, Aberdeen, where he studied for the medical profession. Having taken his degree he afterwards practised as a physician in Arasaig, Lewis, Uist, and the Isle of Skye. In 1794, he joined the Glengarry Fencibles in the capacity of surgeon, and served with the regiment in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798. He was known as "An Doitear Ruadh," or Red Doctor. So far as we can discover, he appears to have been the first of this branch of the family who adopted the name of Macdonald; for the Catholic Directory shows that he entered the Seminary of Bourbloch under the name of "MacEachan," and left it a "Macdonald". The MacEachainns, however, always reckoned themselves a branch of the Macdonalds, and, in most cases, so signed their names. Neil MacEachainn, who accompanied Prince Charles to Paris, and became the father of the famous Marshal Macdonald of France, Duke of Tarentum, always signed himself "N. Macdonald" as for instance in his first letter "since I parted with you at Edinburgh" to his "Dr Florry" Macdonald, dated Paris, Feby. 28th, 1749; a copy of which we have now before us.

Mr. Hope Scott, who changed the name to Lochshiel. It is now the property of Lord Howard. The Macdonalds of Dalilea are extinct in the male line, the last, Archibald, having died about fifty years ago, leaving three daughters, who married respectively Major Campbell of Glenlyon, Colonel Wilson, and Colonel Donald Macdonell, H.E.I.C.S., father of Æneas Macdonell, advocate, Morar.

Dr. Alexander married, Margaret, daughter of Ranald MacAlister of Strathaird, Isle of Skye, by his wife Ann, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, VI. of Kingsburgh, [see p. 269] with issue—

1. John, a Captain in the H.E.I.C.S., who died in India.
2. Reginald, a Captain in the same service, died in India.
3. Alexander, a Lieutenant in the Company's service ; died in India.

4. Keith, a Lieutenant in the Indian Navy, who married Flora, daughter of Colonel Norman MacAlister (whose name he assumed, on succeeding to her property) with issue—one son who died young, and two daughters, both married.

5. Charles Macdonald, a Lieutenant in the Glengarry Fencibles, and who afterwards obtained a commission in the 7th West Indian Regiment. He subsequently settled at Ord, in the Isle of Skye.

6. Isabella, who married, Captain Allan MacLellan of the Glengarry Fencibles, with issue—six sons (of whom four died without issue) and four daughters ; (1), Keith, the eldest son now living, who married Jessie Macdonell, of the family of Keppoch, with issue ; (2), Alister Macdonald, of Portree Estate, Ceylon, now residing at Munloch, in Ross-shire, who married Bella Christian, daughter of Alexander MacRa, late of Hushinish Harris ; (3), Charles, drowned on his way to India ; (4), Marcella, who married Horatio MacCulloch, the celebrated landscape painter, without issue ; (5), Margaret ; (6), Flora ; and (7), Ann, all three married, with issue, in Australia.

7. Ann, who married Captain Andrew Macdonald of the 42nd Royal Highlanders, "Black Watch," with issue—(1), John, who died in India ; (2), Ann, who married Thomas Williamson, with issue (in addition to four sons and a daughter who died young)—Oliphant, who married Maria Watson, Glasgow, with issue ; Charles, who married Jessie Watson, a sister of his brother's wife, with issue ; Ann, who married her cousin Charles, second son of Charles Macdonald of Ord, with issue ; also Alexander, and Margaret.

8. Elizabeth, who married Mr. Lohead, Glasgow ; issue extinct.

9. Flora, who married Mr. Mackintosh of the Inland Revenue, Inverness, and emigrated to Australia.

10. Catherine, who died unmarried, in Glasgow.

11. Susan, who died young.

CHARLES MACDONALD of Ord, fifth son of Dr. Alexander MacEachainn, or Macdonald, of the Glengarry Fencibles, became representative of the family on the death of his brothers. He married Ann, daughter of Captain Neil Macleod of Gesto, Isle of Skye, and died, at Ord, in 1867, leaving issue—five sons and three daughters.

1. Alexander R. Macdonald, now of Ord, who married Maria Macdonell of Keppoch, with issue—three sons, one of whom died young, and two daughters.

2. Lachlan Macdonald, now of Skaebost, well-known among Highlanders for the lively interest he takes in the welfare of his poorer countrymen, and his intelligent appreciation and support of everything pertaining to the Highlands ; especially, the language, literature, and agricultural interests of the Gaelic people. He married Wilhelmina, daughter of the late John MacKenzie of Bengal, originally from Galston, Island of Lewis, with issue—five sons and one daughter.

3. Keith, a Doctor of Medicine, at Cupar-Fife, who married Miss Niblett, Edinburgh, with issue—two sons.

4. Neil Macdonald of Dunach, Argyllshire, who married Madeline, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Brown, Newark, with issue—three sons.

6. Flora, who married Alexander Smith, the poet, author of “A Summer in Skye,” and other works, with issue—one son and two daughters.

7. Isabella, who married John Robertson of Grishernish, Isle of Skye, with issue—four sons and seven daughters.

8. Margaret, who married Godfrey MacKinnon of North Goonambil, Australia, with issue—two sons and two daughters.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENALADALE.

THE progenitor of this family, known among the Highlanders as *Clann Mhic Ian Oig*, was—

I. JOHN or IAN OG MACDONALD, second son of the famous John Moydartach, VII. of Clanranald, by his first wife, Marriatte Mac Ian of Ardnamurchan. He took a prominent share with his father in the wars and feuds of the turbulent period in which he lived, and was distinguished for his reckless bravery. He married his cousin Sheela, or Juliet Macdonald of Clanranald, and by her had one son,

II. ALEXANDER MACDONALD. This young man was of a more than usual restless disposition, and not finding sufficiently attractive work at home, he proceeded in quest of more stirring adventure to Ireland, where he joined the army, and fought in several engagements. His father lost sight of him, and, hearing nothing of him for many years, he concluded that he had been killed in battle, and made over his Glenaladale possessions to his own brother, Allan Macdonald, VIII. of Clanranald. Alexander, however, returned from Ireland after his father's death, and found himself without an inch of his father's property. The family heritage was in possession of tenants placed there by Clanranald. Alexander insisted upon their removal, but they were naturally unwilling, and declined to relinquish their holdings. The heir of Glenaladale determined to get possession of his father's lands—his own rightful heritage—and resolved to muster a resolute band of adherents to drive the intruders out by force. He soon found a sufficient number of his countrymen willing to support his

cause and ready to share his fortune. Having met, they agreed to choose the hour of midnight as the most suitable for carrying their resolution into effect, by taking the enemy unawares. They soon set out for their destination. At this time there lived, on the way, at Dalilea, half-way between Glenfinnan and Castletirrim, an important personage named Mac Isaig, or Mac Isaac, who acted as factor or overseer for Clanranald in that district. He was much respected and looked up to by the country people, and often consulted by Clanranald himself in cases of difficulty with his tenants. Indeed, so very shrewd and prudent was he considered in the district, that he acquired, and was generally known by, the appellation of "Judge Mac Isaig," in which capacity he often acted as Clanranald's depute in settling disputes among the people to which the chief himself could not give his personal attention. One of Mac Isaig's servants was out at night attending to the cattle when Alexander and his trusty band were passing through Dalilea on their march to eject Clanranald's tenants from Glenaladale. The girl recognised their leader, and she at once went to her master and told him she saw a party of men marching past, headed, as she thought, by Alexander Mac Ian Oig. Mac Isaig at once divined the object of the expedition, and sent the girl to tell Alexander to wait until he should come out to see him. Glenaladale halted, and Mac Isaig, coming up to him, asked where he was going with his men at that time of night, adding that he was afraid the object of his journey was not one of the best. Alexander at once stated his intention and the object of his expedition. Mac Isaig strongly advised him to remain at Dalilea that night with his men, while he himself would start at once to see Clanranald at Castletirrim, and there plead Alexander's cause in a peaceful manner. This arrangement was finally agreed upon. Mac Isaig started for Castletirrim, had an interview with Clanranald, and, after some pleading, prevailed upon him not only to restore Glenaladale to Alexander, the rightful owner, but also to add Glenfinnan to it as a protecting outpost. The latter

place was at the time infested with a band of robbers and cattle-lifters, chiefly Camerons from Lochaber, who were very troublesome, and a terror to the surrounding country ; and, as Alexander had proved himself an able and energetic warrior, Mac Isaig had no difficulty in convincing Clanranald that he would be the most likely, if he got the lands for himself, to succeed in ridding the country of the pestiferous band. Alexander justified this opinion of him, and Glenfinnan was soon cleared of the unwelcome intruders who had taken forcible possession of it. In addition to these lands he obtained Langal as a dowry with his wife, Letitia, daughter of Clanranald, who, when she married, was so advanced in years that her father thought she would have no issue, and that, therefore, her husband's whole possessions would return to himself as next heir-male of his nephew. In this, however, he was disappointed, for by his wife Alexander of Glenaladale had two sons—

1. Roderick, his heir ; and 2, Alexander.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. RODERICK MACDONALD, who married Miss Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, with issue—

1. Angus, who succeeded ; 2, John ; 3, Alexander.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. ANGUS MACDONALD, who became a priest. Hitherto the family possessions were held by the ancient right of the sword ; but this man of peace thought the time had arrived when it would be prudent to fall in with modern practice ; so he procured the first charter ever possessed by the family of the lands of Glenaladale and Glenfinnan. Before his death he made over the property to his younger brother,

V. JOHN MACDONALD, who married Miss Macdonald of Ballmein, with issue—

1. John, his heir.

2. Angus, who occupied Borrodale, and whose son Alexander, afterwards succeeded by purchase, to Glenaladale.

3. Ranald ; 4, Alexander ; 5, Allan ; 6, James ; 7, Donald.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. JOHN MACDONALD, who married Miss Macdonald of Morar, with issue—

1. Alexander his heir.
2. John ; 3, Allan.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD. When Prince Charles landed on the West Coast of Scotland in the territory of Clanranald, in 1745, this Alexander, then younger of Glenaladale ; young Clanranald ; and Kinloch-moidart, were the very earliest to join his standard, which, it is well known, was first unfurled on Glenaladale's property at Glenfinnan, where a monument now stands to indicate the spot. He accompanied Prince Charles throughout, in the Clanranald contingent, holding the rank of major, and fought at Falkirk and Prestonpans. He accompanied the army into England, and afterwards took part in the fatal battle of Culloden. The pipes which his piper played on that disastrous occasion are still preserved in the family.

He married Margaret, eldest daughter, and only child of Donald Macdonell, IV. of Scotus, by his first wife, Helen Meldrum of Meldrum. By her he had issue—

1. John his heir.

2. Austin, Huistean, or Augustine, who became a priest, and, in 1809, followed his elder brother to British North America, where he became very popular, and almost venerated by his countrymen in Prince Edward Island, among whom he ministered for a few years. The following notice of his entry into college is found in the *Scoto-chronicon* :—"Rev. Augustine Macdonald, from the Diocese of the Isles, entered the Scots College, Rome, 1757, aged 13 years ; left it, and went priest to the mission in 1769. He was a man of great piety and unbounded zeal. Some time after 1800 he went to America ; and there died soon after." Having studied for twelve years in Rome, he became a profound theologian, an eloquent preacher, and a highly cultured general scholar. He was withal a man of child-like simplicity. Bishop Macdonald, of Prince Edward

Island, in a recent lecture makes the following reference to "Maighistir Uistean," as he was affectionately called by his people :—"Like the great Bishop Hay, and the still greater Cardinal Newman, he was a tolerable performer on the violin—at least in his own estimation. And according to what I learn from those who knew him intimately, his proficiency on the violin was what he prided himself most on. You might call in question the depth of his knowledge as a theologian or his eloquence as a preacher—and they say he was eloquent and powerful—and he remained quite unconcerned ; but the moment you found fault with his music, you evidently touched him on the tender spot. I often heard very old men and very old women give an account of the days when, as young children, they attended Catechism with him ; and how, after a severe and painstaking instruction, particularly if they answered well, he would take his violin and give them some lively tunes. Nay more, he would even get the children to dance ; and whenever any of them displayed extra skill and agility in tripping it on the green, he appeared to take it as a special compliment paid to what he considered his own good music." He died through an operation of unskilful blood-letting ; the vein being pierced caused mortification to set in in the arm, which, after great pain and agony, terminated fatally, when he was interred alongside his brother's remains in the Scotch Fort.

3. Donald, who accompanied his brother to Prince Edward Island.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

VIII. JOHN MACDONALD, who at the date of the battle of Culloden was a mere child. He was sent to Ratisbon, in Germany, for his education, where he went through a complete course of studies in the various branches of learning taught at that famous Catholic seminary. After this he returned to his native country, where he was considered one of the most finished and accomplished young gentlemen of his generation. In 1770 a violent persecution against the Catholics broke out in the island of South Uist. Alexander Macdonald, I. of Boisdale, abandoned the religion

of his forefathers, and tried to compel all his dependents to follow his example. After many acts of oppression, he summoned all his tenants to hear a paper read to them in their native tongue, containing a renunciation of their religion, and a promise, under oath, never more to hold communication with a Catholic priest. The alternative was either to sign the paper or lose their lands and homes. Their unanimous resolution was at once taken, namely, to starve sooner than submit. Boisdale actually attempted, with his sturdy yellow walking-stick, to drive his tenants before him to the Protestant Church like a flock of sheep, which unchristian proceeding on his part induced the people on whom he operated, instead of adopting his creed, to designate the new religion attempted to be forced upon them, in contempt, as *Creideamh a bhata bhuidhe*, or the religion of the yellow stick. Glenaladale, hearing of the proceedings, went to visit the people, and was so touched by their pitiable condition that he formed the resolution of expatriating himself, and going off, at their head, to America. Before the end of 1771 he purchased a large estate in St. John's (now Prince Edward's) Island, to which he took out his persecuted fellow Catholics from South Uist. A little later the War of Independence broke out between England and her American colonies, now forming the United States. In this emergency Glenaladale was the means of forming the 84th Regiment, or "Royal Highland Emigrants," and his energy and pluck will appear from the following daring enterprise. During the American Revolution, an American man-of-war came to the coast of Nova Scotia, near a post where Glenaladale was on detachment duty, with a small portion of his men of the 84th Highland Emigrants. A part of the crew of the enemy's ship having landed for the purpose of plundering the inhabitants, Glenaladale, with his handful of men, boarded the vessel, cut down those who had been left in charge of her, hoisted sail, and brought her as a prize triumphantly into the harbour of Halifax. He there got a reinforcement, marched back to his former post, and took the whole crew, composed

of Americans and French, prisoners. As regards his military virtues and abilities General Small, writing to the English government, says of him—"The activity and unabating zeal of Captain John Macdonald of Glenaladale in bringing an excellent company into the field is his least recommendation, being acknowledged by all who know him to be one of the most accomplished men and best officers of his rank in his Majesty's service". Previous to settling in America, he sold the estate of Glenaladale to his cousin and nearest heir, Alexander Macdonald, son of Angus, second son of John, V. of Glenaladale, as above. The British Government offered him the Governorship of Prince Edward's Island, but owing to the oath of allegiance necessary at the time, he, as a Catholic, was obliged to decline this high office.

He married first, Miss Gordon of Baldornie (now Ward-house), aunt to the late distinguished Admiral Sir James Gordon, by whom he had an only child, who survived its mother only a few months. He married, secondly, Marjory Macdonald of Ghernish, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir, who emigrated with his father to Prince Edward Island, and who, with his next brother, William, was sent to Stonyhurst, in England, for his education. The vessel in which they came across was wrecked on the Irish Coast, when William was drowned. Donald was saved, arrived at his destination, and, after going through his course of studies, returned to Prince Edward Island, where he took a prominent part in the public affairs of the Colony, until his death, at Quebec, some twenty years ago.

2. William, drowned off the coast of Ireland.

3. John, who was sent to Montreal, and afterwards to Paris, to complete his education. He became a priest; exercised his calling in Glasgow for many years, and subsequently returned to Prince Edward Island, where he laboured in various charges. He returned to Britain in 1845, and died at Brighton in 1874.

4. Roderick C., of Castletirrim, Prince Edward Island,

educated with his brother at Montreal and Paris, became Paymaster in the British Army. He served in New Brunswick, in Bermuda, in the Ionian Islands, and in Greece, where he died about twenty-seven years ago. He was married to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Alastair Ranaldson Macdonell, XV. of Glengarry, with issue—a son and two daughters.

5. Flora, who married Alexander Macdonald of the Glengarry Fencibles, with issue — two sons and two daughters. She died in Charlottetown a few years ago.

John of Glenaladale died in 1811, in his adopted country, and was buried at the Scotch Fort, in Prince Edward Island. He was, as we have seen, in 1772, succeeded in the estates of Glenaladale and Glenfinnan by purchase and as next heir male in this country, by his cousin,

IX. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, of Borrodale, son of Angus, second son of John, V. of Glenaladale. He had been in the West Indies, where he accumulated considerable wealth, and was, in consequence, called by the natives, “Alastair an oir”. Shortly before his death he made a settlement of the property in favour of his eldest son, whom failing, on his next heir-at-law John Macdonald, eldest son of his brother Ranald. He married Miss Macgregor, by whom he had three sons—John, Alexander, and Angus. The eldest and youngest died in infancy.

He was succeeded by his only surviving son,

X. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who died, unmarried, in 1814, at the age of twenty-eight, when he was succeeded, in terms of his father's settlement, and as heir-at-law, by his cousin-german,

XI. JOHN MACDONALD, who married Jane, daughter of Macnab of Innishewen, with issue—

1. Angus, his heir.

2. Ranald, died young.

3. Alexander, wine merchant, Inverness, who married Margaret Watson, daughter of Hugh Watson of Torsonce, W.S., with issue—(1) John, in New Zealand ; (2) Hugh, a priest in Glasgow ; (3) James, professor at the Scotch

College of Vallodolid ; (4) Alexander, a civil engineer, who went to America ; (5) Andrew, solicitor, and captain in the Inverness-shire Rifle Volunteers, who married Mina, daughter of John Chisholm, with issue—Alexander, born 16th November, 1872 ; Andrew Edward, born 10th February, 1878 ; Ellen ; Margaret Mary ; Clementina ; and Jane Frances ; (6) Donald ; and (7) Joseph, both of whom died young ; (8) Mary, a nun.

4. John, a Lieutenant-Colonel, H.E.I.C.S., who highly distinguished himself in circumstances of the most trying description for undaunted courage and bravery. We quote the following from an authentic historical narrative of the Indian Mutiny, well known in military circles :—It is necessary that one more tragical event should be recorded—the murderous assault at Rohnee, distant 300 miles from Calcutta. It was the head-quarters of the 5th Irregular Cavalry. There were present of that regiment Major Macdonald, commanding ; Sir Norman Leslie, the Adjutant ; and Dr. Grant. On the 8th June, these three officers were seated outside the bungalow of the first named, engaged in friendly conversation in the evening. During a pause, Dr. Grant rose with the intention of entering the bungalow. In the very act of rising, he noticed the stealthy approach of three men, apparently strangers. As he turned to point them out to his companions, the intruders, drawing their swords, rushed upon them. Our party were without weapons of any sort, and had not time to fly. Sir Norman Leslie, indeed, turned to enter the house in search of his sword ; but, his foot slipping at the threshold, he was cut down at once. The other two seized the chairs on which they had been sitting, and with them endeavoured to ward off the blows aimed at them. Both, however, were wounded. Major Macdonald, receiving three severe cuts on the head, was scalped, and the affair would probably have terminated unfavourably for both of them, were it not that their assailants lost courage and fled for fear of detection. It was not known who they were. There was a guard close to the house, but the troopers composing it de-

clared that they had neither seen nor heard anything of the intruders. The news of this dastardly attack was quickly conveyed to the lines ; all the men were instantly collected, and their swords drawn for inspection ; all, however, were found clean ; not a speck of blood was apparent on any of them. All was mystery ; no suspicion attached to the men of the regiment, who had up to that time behaved well ; and from the fact of the murderers having worn dhotees, they were believed to be disbanded Sepoys, many of whom had been seen in the neighbourhood. Such were the first impressions, but time brings to light every evil deed. It was ascertained by the confession of a comrade that these men belonged to Major Macdonald's own corps. They were at once seized by his command—brought to a drum-head court-martial and sentenced to be hanged. Now came the trying moment ; it was impossible to say whether these men had or had not any accomplices in the regiment ; whether the entire corps was not infected. They might refuse to allow the sentence of death to be carried out ; they might turn against their officers, only two in number, one of them deprived of his scalp. These contingencies appeared not only possible, but probable ; more unlikely events have happened before, and have occurred since. In this emergency Major Macdonald showed the undaunted pluck of a Highlander. Let him tell his own story, it is worth recording :—" One of the prisoners was of very high caste and influence, and this man I determined to treat with the greatest ignominy, by getting a low caste man to hang him. To tell the truth, I never for a moment expected to leave the hanging scene alive ; but I determined to do my duty. I well knew the effect that pluck and decision had on the natives. The regiment was drawn out ; wounded cruelly as I was, I had to see everything done myself, even to the adjusting of the ropes, and saw them looped to run easy. Two of the culprits were paralyzed with fear and astonishment ; never dreaming that I should dare to hang them without an order from government. The third said he would *not* be hanged, and called on the pro-

phet and on his comrades to rescue him. This was an awful moment ; an instant's hesitation on my part, and probably I should have had a dozen balls through me ; so I seized a pistol, clapped it to the man's ear, and said, with a look that could not be mistaken, 'another word out of your mouth and your brains shall be scattered on the ground'. He trembled and held his tongue. The elephant came up—he was put on his back—the rope adjusted—the elephant moved—and he was left dangling. I then had the others up and off in the same way ; and after some time, when I dismissed the men of the regiment to their lines, I still found my head on my shoulders ; I really could scarcely believe it." In another letter, in reply to a brother officer, who advised him to go away on account of his wounds, he replied, "Certainly not ; leave any strange officer with the men ! I had rather stay and die first."

Such is the stuff of which British officers are composed ! Who can wonder that, in spite of divided counsels, of orders and counter-orders, of procrastination unheard of before—of the weakest, the most selfish, and most incapable government that ever ruled in any crisis—the mutiny should have been put down. Had Major Macdonald gone away for the cure of his wounds ; had he flinched on the day of execution ; had he feared to take upon himself the responsibility of ordering that execution, the 5th Irregulars would then and there have risen in revolt. Subsequent events have proved that there was at that time an organised conspiracy in the regiment ; that many knew of the plot to assassinate their three officers ; that they waited its fulfilment to rise *en masse*. They were cowed first by the ill success of the plot, second, by the determined spirit and truly Highland pluck displayed by Major Macdonald at the execution. Everything depended upon his spirit. Another call from the condemned trooper to his comrades to save him, and Major Macdonald's life would not have been worth five minutes' purchase. The regiment would have risen ; and in the middle of June an insurrection in that part of the country would have endangered Calcutta, Putna, and the whole of

Bengal, and yet although Major Macdonald's firmness undoubtedly saved us at that time from a great calamity, we fail to trace in the papers published by authority any signification to him of the approval of the Supreme Government. There are glorifications *in extenso* of civilians, and occasional notices of military men ; but in praise of Major Macdonald the Government of Lord Canning is silent. There is an expression of approval from the Commander-in-Chief, but it is not endorsed by the Governor-General. Does any one inquire the reason ? Major Macdonald was a nominee of the late Sir Charles Napier, for a deed of unflinching daring and ready presence of mind, in shutting the gates of the fortress of Umritzir against the whole body of the mutinous 66th in 1849-50. Sir Charles Napier gave him the command of the 5th Irregulars, and the following is his letter on the occasion :—

“ MY DEAR MACDONALD,—I am delighted at finding from the Adjutant-General, before I got your note, that you were not prevented from holding a staff employment (by not having passed in the language). I believe a vacancy will soon take place ; I shall place you in it. You have *won* it, if ever a man deserved well of his chief. But for your decision we should have had the devil to pay at Umritzir. So you are not under any obligation to me.

“ Yours sincerely,

(Signed) “ C. NAPIER.”

The particulars of Major Macdonald's act of pluck on that occasion were as follows :—On the first well-grounded suspicion that this mutinous feeling was likely to break out into acts, the assistance of an English cavalry regiment stationed at some distance from the fort was sent for. Major Macdonald, who was on duty at the moment, feeling anxious at the delay of their arrival, buckled on his sword and walked down alone to the gate through which they were expected to arrive. As he arrived at the gate, he found the Sepoys in the act of closing the gates, in open

mutiny, preparatory to a general massacre, and the officers on duty powerless. Major Macdonald, drawing his sword, rushed forward, and with a voice of thunder, threatened to cut down the first man that opposed him. His determination cowed them; they fell back to a man, and with his own hands, he re-opened the gates. By this time, luckily, the cavalry were galloping up within sight, and entered without opposition.*

The London *Examiner*, on another occasion, finding fault with an instance of want of promptness in dealing with the Sepoys at Dinapore, says, "Another account states that only four hours were allowed the Sepoys to deliberate—but, in such a case, four minutes would be too long. What, for instance, would have been the consequence if the intrepid Major Macdonald had wavered for a single moment when he stood by the gallows, with his revolver in hand, at the execution of Sir Norman Leslie's murderers? Minutes count for hours, often for days, in emergencies like these. If there is in the whole circuit of human affairs one occasion more than another when the deed ought to follow the decision as swift as the thunderbolt follows the flash—when to act ought to be almost identical with to think—it is the presence of mutiny, just such a crises as that at Dinapore, where more time was allowed the mutineers to mature their plans than such a man as Macdonald would have required to scatter the three disaffected regiments, limb by limb, over the cantonment. A Willoughby, a Macdonald, or an Eyre would have strangled the revolt in the cradle."

Colonel Macdonald in 1848, married Helen Morgan, (She died in India in 1855) with issue—two daughters.

5. Ranald George Charles, died young.
6. Donald, a priest, now at Glenfinnan.
7. Clementina, who died unmarried, in 1874.
8. Catharine, died unmarried, at Inverness, in June, 1880.
9. Margaret, who married Colin Chisholm, solicitor, Inverness, and died in 1868. He died in 1877, leaving

* The Red Pamphlet.

issue—John Archibald, Holm Mills, Inverness ; Æneas, a priest in Banff ; and Colin, with his brother at the Holm Mills ; Jane, died unmarried ; Sarah, unmarried ; and Clementina, died young.

10. Jane, died unmarried.

11. Helen died young.

Glenaladale died in 1830, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XI. ANGUS MACDONALD, who, born in 1793, married in 1836, Mary, younger daughter of Hugh Watson of Torsonce, W.S., Mid-Lothian, with issue—

1. John Andrew, his heir.

2. Hugh Joseph, Superior of the Redemptorists, Kinnoull, Perthshire.

3. Angus (B.A., London), the present Right Rev. (Catholic) Lord Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

4. Mary Margaret, a nun.

5. Jane Veronica, unmarried.

He died in 1870, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XIII. JOHN ANDREW MACDONALD, now of Glenaladale, who married Helen, eldest daughter of Edward Chaloner of Hermiston Hall, Nottinghamshire, without issue. She died several years ago.

THE MACDONALDS OF KINLOCHMOIDART.

THIS family is descended from John, fourth son of Allan Macdonald, VIII. of Clanranald. The Macdonalds of Kinlochmoidart, always maintained that the head of their house was chief of Clanranald, and without in any way committing ourselves to the family claim, it is perhaps only fair to state the allegations on which it is based.

Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, brother of Kinlochmoidart, accompanied Prince Charles to the Highlands in 1745, and for the services rendered on that occasion by himself and other members of the family, he writes to Mr. Edgar from Boulogne-sur-Mer, under date of 12th October, 1751, asking him "to recommend to His Majesty's protection the oldest boy who is now at the Scots College at Paris, and for whom we design a genteel education if we knew how to support it". He then proceeds to enumerate promises made by Prince Charles to his family, one being that His Royal Highness proposed to the doctor's late brother a Colonelcy of Horse Dragoons; promised a "Peerage to him and his heirs for ever," he having also been "made first Aide-de-camp to His Royal Highness". The doctor continues, "Now I am solicited by my family to beseech his majesty that he would be most graciously pleased to confirm this promise under His Royal Sign Manual, that whenever it shall please God to restore the Royal Family, Alexander Macdonald, now of Kinlochmoidart, or his heirs, shall have his estate restored to him free of all incumbrances, shall be made a Baron of His Majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and a competent allowance assigned

for the support of that dignity. I told you in my last that my demand was to rise very high ; but you will also please to observe, that not one family of the Macdonalds has made so good alliances since we came off the original stock as the family of Kinlochmoidart has had in the four persons that have represented it. None of them lost so much blood in the Royal cause, or had the honour to be more distinguished in their loyalty." To support his claim he sends, along with his letter, a short account of the Family of Macdonald of Moidart, "commonly called Clanranald," from which we extract the following :—"Allan Macdonald of Moidart, last undisputed representative of the Clanranald Family, and called by the Highlanders *Allen Mac Ian*, lived at his house of Castletirrim, in Moidart, about the end of the reign of James the V. . . . He was great-grandfather of Ranald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, major of the second regiment of Clanranald in 1715." The History of Allan Macdonald VIII. of Moidart, "according to all the Genealogists of the Highlands"! he then supplies in these terms—"He first married a daughter of Macleod of Harris, by whom he had a son, but some years afterwards, paying a visit with his lady to Macleane of Duart, he fell in love with a daughter of the said Macleane, and carried her off directly in some of his long-boats or *Birlins*, to Castletirrim, leaving his own lady at Macleane's house at Duart, where she did not remain long before Macdonald of Keppoch seeing her, and taking a fancy to her in her misfortunes, took her away to his house and cohabited with her. Allan of Moidart in the meantime kept Macleane's daughter with him at Castletirrim, and had two sons by her, who, proving to be youths, and the mother seeing that the former son which Allan had had by Macleod's daughter should be the heir, she fell upon a stratagem to put him out of the way and make room for her own children to come in his place. It was Allan of Moidart's custom to pass with her a part of summer at a place called Keppoch, in Arisaig, which was but a few hours' rowing from Castletirrim ; near this

place the sea forms a lake, called in the country dialect Lochnakeaul, much frequented to this day by vast numbers of seals, which is a sort of sea animal that delights to stretch himself upon the rocks in hot weather. Allan of Moidart's three sons often diverted themselves with shooting these animals upon the rocks, and the mother of the two younger brothers finding this apt opportunity for completing her design, gave her two sons their lesson so well, that, one day, as their elder brother was taking an aim at one of these seals, they shot him dead upon the spot; so that these two sons were then the only offspring of Allan Macdonald of Moidart, or Allan Mac Ian. Some time after the murder of Moidart's eldest and only lawful son, Macleane's daughter died, as did also Macleod's daughter, who was in Keppoch's possession, and was properly Allan's lawful wife; upon this, Allan, being then free of all engagements, married a daughter of Macdonald of Glengary by whom he had a son, John, commonly called *Ian Mac Allen*. This John was grandfather to Ranald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who was major to Clanranald in 1715, and died in Moidart in 1725. The above mentioned *Ian Mac Allen*, not being powerful enough to contend with his two brothers about the right of succession, as they were headstrong men, and he but a youth and without support, and his father Allen in his dotage, he was obliged, after some vain attempts, to take what fortune was allotted to him, and was the first Kinloch Moidart.* This claim by a member of the family, is given here for whatever it may be worth, but it is right to say that we have not from any source met with a single fact corroborative of the statements therein made. The present representative of the family however maintains their accuracy, and having stated them we must leave those interested to settle the question among themselves.

I. JOHN MACDONALD, first of this family, known among the Highlanders as *Ian Mac Alein*, obtained from his father,

* Stuart Papers, published as an Appendix to Brown's History of the Highlands and Highland Clans, 1838, vol. iv., pp. 91-93.

Allen, VIII. of Clanranald, a feu charter of Kinloch-Moidart, and Askernish, with lands in Uist, which latter were afterwards exchanged for Glenforslan, Ulgaig, Arsaig, and other lands in Moydart. He married a daughter of Macleod of Lewis, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.

2. John of Borrodale, issue extinct.

3. Roderick of Barrisdale, whose issue is also extinct,

He died in 1584, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. ALEXANDER MACDONALD. According to the statement of Æneas Macdonald, the Paris banker, "Alexander Macdonald was contemporary with Donald Macdonald of Moidart, called Captain of Clanranald, who being sensible of Alexander's right to the estate, made a full and true disposition to him and his heirs for ever, which disposition is still extant; it was only in case his two sons should die without children, which did happen, by the one being killed as above, at the battle of Dunblane, in 1715, and the other dying a bachelor at Paris in 1726; but this disposition, nor any other claim of right, were not found of any use in law, as the estate was then under attainder, but given up for the behoof of the creditors, who were masters, to give it to whom they pleased, and they thought proper to confer it upon Macdonald of Benbecula." This statement is obviously incorrect. Alexander of Kinlochmoidart died in 1644, and the Donald of Clanranald referred to did not come into possession, until the death of his father in 1670, twenty-six years after the death of Alexander of Kinlochmoidart. In these circumstances it is scarcely possible that he could have made "a full and true disposition" in favour of a man who had been so long in his grave, before the property came into his own possession. The eldest of Donald of Clanranald's two sons, on whose dying childless, the coming into force of this full and true disposition depended, was not born until 1670, twenty-six years after Kinlochmoidart's death. It is therefore impossible to understand how Donald of Clanranald knew, so long before,

that he was to have, more than a quarter of a century later, two sons, whose names would be Allan and Ranald, and who would die without issue to suit this remarkable and "full," but, we are afraid, not "true" disposition. The statement regarding the action of the creditors is equally unfounded [see pp. 427-428].

William Robertson Macdonald, now of Kinlochmoidart writes—"Allan of Moidart married Penelope, daughter of Colonel Mackenzie, Governor of Tobago, and left all his estates to his widow, who wished to marry Donald, Ranald of Kinlochmoidart's eldest son, and thus settle all differences, and unite the properties again. This he could not do, being betrothed; and she, by aid of the crown, the estates being under attainder, left the estates of Moidart to Donald Macdonald elder of Benbecula, who by the failure of the said Allan Penelope's husband and his brother Ranald without heirs-male lawfully procreate of their body, was the next nearest male descendant of Ranald of Benbecula. This will is dated 5th December, 1726. So in this way the estates of Moydart passed away from the descendants of Ian Mac Allan of Kinlochmoidart, the only legitimate son of Allan Mac Ian of Moydart." The reader who has perused the preceding pages will have no difficulty in coming to a conclusion, in his own mind, on the points at issue.

Alexander married, according to the family genealogy, a daughter of Allan Mor Macdonald of Morar, with issue—

1. Ranald, his heir.
2. James.
3. Angus, who married a daughter of Charles Maclean of Morvern, and died of wounds received in Ireland, fighting for Charles I.

He died in 1644, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. RANALD MACDONALD. He was both at Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir, with his two sons, Ranald and John, where he highly distinguished himself among the Clanranald. He married the only daughter of John

Cameron of Lochiel (son of Sir Ewen) by his wife Isabel, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, with issue, twenty-three children, among whom were—

1. Donald, his heir.
2. John, a Doctor of Medicine, who died, unmarried, in France.
3. Ranald, who married Miss Macdonald of Dalilea, with issue—twenty-one children, one of whom, Ewen, became a priest; and is buried at Eilean Finnan. Most of the others emigrated to America. This Ranald, was the first to join Prince Charles on board the *Doutelle*, in Loch-nan-uagh, in 1745, when young Clanranald and Kinloch-Moidart declined until driven to join by the generous enthusiasm and chivalry of young Ranald, [see pp. 431-432].
4. Allan Mor, who married in France, with issue—one daughter, Clementina Jacobina Sobieski, born in 1768, and married Francis Schnell, with issue—all of whom predeceased their mother, who died in 1842.
5. Allan Og, who married in France, with issue—one daughter, who married the Marquis D'Aveignecourt, with issue—one son, who suffered with his father, during the third year of the French Revolution.
6. Alastair Sean, who emigrated to America.
7. Alastair Og.
8. James, who went to America.
9. Archibald, died unmarried.
10. Æneas, a banker in Paris, who accompanied Prince Charles to Scotland, in 1745. He was killed during the French Revolution.
11. Margaret, who married James Macdonald of Aird, Troternish, Isle of Skye, son of William, tutor of Macdonald, with issue—one son and three daughters, [see p. 284].
12. Anne, who married Angus Maclean, fourth of Kinlochaline, without issue.
13. Mary, who married Macdonald of Morar.
14. Flora, who was engaged to be married to Macdonell of Scotus, but died just before the marriage celebration.

Ranald died in 1725, "from the effects of a bout of sour cream, at Glenforslan," when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. DONALD MACDONALD, who married, Isabel, daughter of Robert Stewart of Appin, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. Donald, who married, and died, in Jamacia, without issue.
3. John, died unmarried, in Jamaica, in 1794.
4. Æneas, died in Jamaica, unmarried.
5. Charles, a General in the Army of France, and who subsequently became a French Count. He was guillotined during the Revolution.
6. Allan, who died without issue.
7. Angus, a priest, educated at Douay, who went to America.

Donald joined Prince Charles, who visited him in his house, at Kinlochmoidart, and at the head of a hundred of his retainers accompanied him throughout the whole campaign.* He was executed on the Gallows Hill, at Carlisle, on the 18th of October, 1746; his estates were confiscated, and his house burned to the ground by the English troops, when he was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

* Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the "Monastery," relates the following anecdote in reference to that scene in his novel of which Stalworth Bolton is the hero. "In the civil war 1745-46, a party of Highlanders, under a chieftain of rank, came to Rose Castle, the seat of the Bishop of Carlisle, but then occupied by the family of Squire Dacre of Cumberland. They demanded quarters, which of course were not to be refused to armed men of a strange attire and unknown language. But the domestic represented to the Captain of the Mountaineers that the lady of the mansion had been just delivered of a daughter, and expressed her hope, that, under these circumstances, his party would give as little trouble as possible. 'God forbid,' said the gallant chief, 'That I or mine, should be the means of adding to a lady's inconvenience, at such a time. May I request to see the infant?' The child was brought, and the Highlander taking his cockade out of his bonnet, and pinning it on the child's breast, 'That will be a token,' he said, 'to any of our people who may come hither, that Donald Macdonald of Kinloch-Moidart, has taken the family of Rose Castle under his protection'. The lady who received in infancy this gage of Highland protection, is now Mary, Lady Clerk of Pennycuik; and on the 18th of June she still wears the cockade, which was pinned on her breast, with a white rose as a kindred decoration."

V. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, a captain in the 42nd Regiment, and afterwards colonel of the 71st Highlanders. He and his brother Charles, already referred to, were educated at the Scots College, Paris. While Alexander rose to a high position in the British Army, Charles, who entered that of France, rose still higher in the French service, and during the American War, the brothers fought on opposite sides. Very curiously, the two were chosen on a certain occasion, to arrange the exchange of prisoners ; and Charles, having a strong and natural desire to meet his brother first as such rather than as his enemy, on making a request accordingly, was blindfolded and admitted to the British Camp, where he had an interview with his brother, before witnesses ; and, on the following day, they fought bravely on opposite sides. Alexander was authorised to raise a company of Highlanders for the king's service, to consist of one Captain, two Lieutenants, two drummers or pipers, and one hundred men. He was severely wounded in the American War.

Having, in 1765, married Susanna, daughter of Donald Campbell of Airds by his wife Margaret Macclaine of Lochbuy, he left issue—

1. John, his heir and successor.
2. Donald, who succeeded his brother.
3. Margaret, who succeeded her brother Donald.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. JOHN MACDONALD, to whom the estates were restored in 1786. He was a captain in the 21st Regiment, and was killed in 1794, leading the storming party at the taking of Guadalope. He died unmarried, and was succeeded by his brother,

VII. DONALD MACDONALD, an officer of great distinction in the army. He was at Gibraltar when the Duke of Kent had command of the Royals, and when such an unpleasant feeling existed in the ranks, that it was feared among the other officers that the Duke's life was in danger. It was thought that Kinlochmoidart, from his personal authority and the high esteem in which he was held by the

men, would be the most likely officer to reduce them to subordination, and His Royal Highness with remarkable coolness, walked arm in arm with Macdonald in front of the lines. This incident established ever after a firm personal friendship between him and the Duke, and on Macdonald's death, His Royal Highness wrote to his mother expressing sympathy for the loss she had sustained.

He served in Egypt, with Sir Ralph Abercromby, and for his services he received the Crescent gold medal as Field Officer. He became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royals, and, after serving with marked distinction at Toulouse, in Egypt, and the West Indies, he was appointed Governor of Tobago, and commandant of the military forces at that station. He died, unmarried, from the effect of wounds, received in the service of his country, in 1804, and was buried, with military honours, at the foot of the flag-staff at Fort King-George, when he was succeeded in the estate of Kinlochmoidart by his sister,

VIII. MARGARET MACDONALD, who, born at Airds, on the 16th of June, 1773, married on the 2nd of October, 1799, Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson, youngest son of Dr. William Robertson, a cadet of the Family of Strowan, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, and Historiographer Royal for Scotland. On his wife succeeding to the estate of Kinlochmoidart, her husband assumed the name of Macdonald in addition to his own. They had issue—

1. William Frederick, their heir, born in 1802, and now of Kinlochmoidart.
2. Alexander, who died in India, unmarried, in 1824.
3. James, a captain, 9th Madras Native Infantry, and Assistant Commissary-General, born 22nd of July, 1806, and married 30th of September, 1830, Anne Amelia, fourth daughter of Captain Stewart of Blackhall, without issue. He died on his way home from India in 1851.
4. David, who, born in 1810, died in infancy.

5. John, born on the 23rd of October, 1811. Lieutenant, Madras Native Infantry, killed in action, while gallantly leading his men to the attack of a stockade at Coorg, in 1834.

6. David, Vice-Admiral, R.N., who served in China, and afterwards, with great distinction in the New Zealand war, where he had command of H.M.S. *Hazara*, and was seriously wounded. He was publicly thanked, for his gallant conduct in New Zealand, by the House of Commons, receiving a medal and his promotion in consequence ; while a sword was presented to him by the colony of New Zealand, in recognition of his bravery. He was subsequently appointed to the Coast Guard, where he secured the Society's medal for saving life with conspicuous daring. He married in 1848, Caroline, daughter of James Beck of Priors Hardwick, with issue—David Robertson, born in 1857 ; and several daughters.

7. Susan.

8. Mary.

9. Margaret, who married Henry Wyght of Largnean.

10. Ellinor.

11. Jessie, who married, in 1841, the Rev. John Gibson Macvicar, D.D., LL.D., with issue.

Margaret died on the 14th of June, 1844, and her husband died in 1845, when he was succeeded in Kinlochmoidart by his eldest son,

IX. WILLIAM FREDERICK ROBERTSON-MACDONALD, now in possession, who married Sarah Adams, daughter of James Beck of Priors Hardwick, with issue—

1. William, born 26th of May, 1828, and died in June following.

2. William James, a twin of his brother William, a Captain in the 42nd and 30th Regiments. He married Helen Crawley, granddaughter of Governor Crawley, of Sydney, Nova Scotia, and died, without issue, in June, 1869.

3. William Francis, born in 1832 ; died in 1835.

4. William David Alexander, born 1834, and married Ada Julia, daughter of Thomas Littledale.

5. William C. Adams, born 1837 ; died 1841.

6. William Anstruther, born 1839, died, unmarried, in 1859.

THE MACDONALDS OF BOISDALE.

THIS family is descended from Donald Macdonald, of Benbecula, who became XIV. of Clanranald, and married, first, Margaret, daughter of Donald Macdonald, XI. of Clanranald, by whom he had Donald, his successor. He married, secondly, Margaret, daughter of George Mackenzie of Kildun, by whom he had (with a daughter Ann, who married John Mackinnon, second son of Lachlan Mackinnon of Mackinnon)—

1. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, "Alastair Mor," first of Boisdale, in South Uist, which lands he inherited as his portion in 1730. He is said to have been the first who introduced the manufacture of kelp from Ireland to the Long Island; and to increase the quantity of sea-ware for that purpose, he planted stones in the various bays on his property. Mr. Charles Shaw, ex-Sheriff-Substitute of Lochmaddy, says, that he remembers seeing this done in the Long Island 60 years ago, by people engaged in this industry, but "who did not seem to know that the same thing had formerly been done so long ago by the first Macdonald of Boisdale". Alexander first married Mary, daughter of Donald Macdonald, first of Castleton, and widow of Sir Donald Macdonald (A chogaidh), eleventh baron and fourth baronet of Sleat, who died in 1718. By her he had—

1. Colin, his heir.
2. John.
3. Mary, who married William Macdonald, second of Vallay, with issue.

4. Anne, who married Dr. Macleod of Eyre, Isle of Skye, a younger son of Raasay, who was severely wounded in the battle of Culloden, and afterwards, though still suffering from his wounds, chiefly instrumental in securing the escape of Prince Charles from the Isle of Skye, when his Royal Highness finally departed with Flora Macdonald.*

5. Another daughter.

He married, secondly, Margaret, second daughter of Hector Maclean XI. of Coll, with issue.

6. Donald, and 7, Hector, two distinguished officers in the army, killed in battle, during the American war.

He married, thirdly, Anne Macneil of Barra, by whom he had nine sons and three daughters, all of whom died young, except James of Askernish, who rose to the rank of Major in the Army, and married Miss Macleod of the family of Bernera; also a daughter, who married Macneil of Canna. Major James of Askernish died at Inverness.

Alexander was succeeded by his eldest son,

II. COLIN MACDONALD, second of Boisdale, who married, first, Margaret, daughter of Campbell of Airds, Ardnamurchan, by whom he had issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.

2. Donald, who served as an officer in the 22nd, 18th, and 100th Regiments in succession, until in 1795 he received letters of service to raise a regiment of the line, but he died suddenly before the regiment was completed. He rose to the rank of Colonel in the army.

* The Prince, at parting, handed Dr. Macleod a case containing a silver spoon, knife, and fork, saying, "Keep you that till I see you". There is a footnote to Boswell's account of the escape of the Prince in Croker's edition of Boswell's life of Dr. Johnson in these terms—"The case with the silver spoon, knife, and fork, given by the Chevalier to Dr. Macleod, came into the hands of Mary, Lady Clerk of Pennycuik, who intrusted me with the honourable commission of presenting them, in her ladyship's name, to his present Majesty upon his visit to Scotland, in 1822—*Walter Scott*." We are informed that this statement of Scott is quite erroneous, in so far as it relates to the case and its contents presented by Prince Charles to Dr. Macleod. These were at the time of the visit of George IV. to Scotland in 1822 in the house at Eyre, Isle of Skye, where Dr. Macleod left them at his death, and they were given in 1839, by his daughter Anne, the last surviving member of his family, to his great-grandson, Charles Shaw, W.S., late Sheriff-Substitute of the county of Inverness at Lochmaddy, in whose possession, at Maryfield, Inverness, they now are.

3. Hector, W.S., and one of the Principal Clerks of Session, who married Miss Buchanan of Drumikill and the Ross Priory, Dumbartonshire, heiress in her own right (whose name he assumed in addition to his own), with issue—four sons, Robert, Hector, John, and James, all of whom died unmarried ; also four daughters, two of whom, Jane and Margaret, died unmarried. The second, Jemima, married in October, 1830, Sir Alexander Wellesley William Leith, Bart., of Burgh St. Peters, Norfolk, with issue, the present Sir George Hector Leith, Baronet ; James, a Lieutenant in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, born 1834 ; died at Gibraltar in 1857 ; John Macdonald, a Major, 79th Queen's Own Highlanders ; born December 1835 ; and Flora, unmarried.

4. Margaret, who married Macdonald of Milton, nephew of the famous Flora Macdonald.

5. Harriett, or Henrietta, who married Major Alexander Macdonald, third of Vallay, with issue ; and several others who died young.

Colin married, secondly, Isabella, daughter of Captain Robert Campbell of Glenfalloch, whose son John-Alexander-Gavin Campbell, by Jean Sinclair, daughter of Sir James Sinclair of Dunbeath, became 6th Earl of Breadalbane. By this lady he had—

6. Reginald, Advocate and Sheriff-Depute of the county of Stirling, who inherited the estates of Staffa and Ulva, in Mull. He married, in January, 1812, Elizabeth Steuart, only child and heiress of Sir Henry Steuart, Baronet of Allanton, who was created a Baronet with remainder to his son-in-law, Reginald, who became the second Baronet in 1836. His lady succeeded to the Touch Seton estates, in the county of Stirling, on the death of her maternal uncle, the Hon. Archibald Seton, late member of the Supreme Council of India, and Governor of Prince Edward Island, in 1835, when she assumed, in addition to her other names, that of Seton. She at the same time succeeded to the office of heritable armour bearer to the Queen, and Squire of the Royal body, which high hereditary office is held by

her son, the present baronet ; which has been from time immemorial in the family of Seton of Touch ; and for which various charters are extant at and previous to 1488, granted by James III. and Charles II. By his lady, Reginald had issue—(1) Sir Henry James Seton Steuart, Baronet of Allanton, who, in 1852, married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Montgomery, younger son of Sir Robert Montgomery, Baronet of Stanhope, with issue ; (2) Archibald ; (3) Colin Reginald, drowned ; (4) Isabella, who married the Rev. John Lockhart Rose, Vicar of Ambury, Wiltshire ; (5) Lillias Margaret.

Sir Reginald died in 1838.

7. Robert, of Inchkenneth and Gribune, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Artillery, and a C.B., who married, 18th January, 1801, Mary, third daughter of Thomas Douglas, of Grantham, with issue—(1) Robert Douglas, born 7th of June 1802, a Captain in the 42nd Highlanders, who married in 1834, Mary Anne Carleton, of Malta, with issue—Robert, born in 1835, a Captain in the 79th Regiment, married, but died without issue, in Natal, in 1872 ; Charles Edward, Colonel in the Royal Marines, born 15th of July, 1837, married 4th of November, 1869, Rebecca, widow of George Enbank, with issue—Charles Clanranald, born 25th of March, 1872 ; Kenneth Alexander, born 14th of August, 1874 ; and Flora Mary. Captain Robert had also two daughters, Isabella Mary ; and Mary Anne, who, in 1873, married Captain Capel Miers, 79th Cameron Highlanders. (2) George Ranald, born in 1804, a W.S., who married, first, Alicia, daughter of the Rev. B. Bridges, and secondly, Mary Anne, widow of W. Baines, Q.C., in both cases without issue ; he died in 1875. (3) Charles Kerr, born 1st Jan., 1806, a Major in the 42nd Highlanders, or Black Watch ; married in 1836, Lady Asworth, without issue. He died at Alexandria in 1868. (4) James Archibald, a Captain in the Royal Navy, born 18th of January, 1808 ; married, in 1837, Louisa Greig, a niece of Lady Rollo, with issue—Charles Douglas, a Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, who died at Guernsey in 1872, and two

daughters, Louisa and Mary. Captain James died in the same place in 1875. (5) Ranald George Meyritt, born 25th of February, 1810; married, in 1836, Alicia Jane, eldest daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Bridges, Vicar of Henstridge, Somersetshire, with issue; (6) Isabella Louisa, married in 1838, James Neille Macneille, with issue—one son and two daughters.

8. Colin, who rose to the rank of Admiral in the Royal Navy, a C.B.; married, without issue.

9. James, a doctor of medicine, who died unmarried in 1806.

10. Isabella, died unmarried.

11. Jean, married in 1793, as his second wife, her second cousin, John Macdonald, XVII. of Clanranald, without issue.

A son William and two daughters, Mary or Maria and Flora, died young, the latter two while in school at Clifton.

Colin was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, third of Boisdale, a Captain in the 71st Regiment; he served in the American war, and married Marion, daughter of Alexander Maclean, fourteenth of Coll, with issue—

1. Hugh, his heir.

2. Colin, a doctor in the Indian army, where, a few years ago, he died unmarried.

3. Donald, who rose to the rank of Major, and was killed in battle.

4. Janet, unmarried.

5. Isabella, who married Colonel Cadell, of the family of Cockenzie.

6. Margaret, married Major Lawrence, with issue—two sons, Samuel, a Colonel in the Army, and Hector, killed in the Crimean war, an ensign.

He died in 1818, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

IV. HUGH MACDONALD, fourth of Boisdale. His rental in 1837 was £900, at which time he was “a non-resident proprietor”. The property was soon afterwards sold by his trustees. He went to Liverpool, and married there, but we failed to trace any of his descendants.

THE MACDONALDS OF SANDA.

THIS family is descended from John Mor Tanaistear, of Dunyveg and the Glynns, second son of John of Isla, first Lord of the Isles, by Lady Margaret, daughter of Robert, High Stewart, and afterwards King Robert II. of Scotland.

JOHN MOR TANAISTEAR married Margery Bisset, "high-born, handsome, and an heiress," whose ancestors, originally Scotch, settled down in the Glynns of Ulster. Her father's name was John Bisset, fifth in descent from the first of that family who settled in Ireland. He possessed the "seven lordships" of the Glynns, and his daughter and sole heiress, Margery, carried this extensive property to her husband, who already possessed Isla, Kintyre, and other extensive possessions in Scotland. In Kintyre he had a family residence at the end of Lochkilkerran, known in ancient times as Dundonell. Dunaverty Castle also belonged to him, and another of his strongholds, Glen Saddell Castle, had, some time prior to his marriage, passed into the possession of the Bishops of Argyll. Shortly after the marriage, the pair visited Donald of Harlaw, John's brother, who then temporarily resided in Isla. Here they met, disguised as a poor traveller, King Richard II. of England, generally believed to have died of starvation at Pontefract. He was at once recognised by Margery Bisset, who had met him on his second visit to Ireland in 1399, shortly after her marriage. The lady's recognition of him was a fortunate circumstance, as it proved the means of obtaining shelter and protection for him at the Scottish Court, until his death in 1419.*

* The Macdonells of Antrim, pp. 25-26.

By his wife, John Mor had issue, (among others) the famous

DONALD BALLOCH of the Isles, with whose career the reader is already acquainted. He married a daughter of Conn O'Neil of the Clan-Buys of Ireland, by whom he had several children. His eldest son and successor,

JOHN or EOIN MOR, married Sabina, daughter of Felim O'Neil, a great Irish chief. John died soon after his marriage, but left a son, who succeeded him as,

JOHH CATHANACH of Isla, so called from having been fostered with the O'Cahans of North Ulster. He was knighted by James IV., in 1493, during the king's visit to the West Highlands and Isles. We are already acquainted with his expulsion of the royal garrison from his Castle of Dunaverty in July, 1494, on which occasion he hanged the governor from the walls in sight of the king, as he was departing with his fleet. Through the agency of Argyll, the king was soon after revenged by getting a kinsman of Isla, John MacIan of Ardnamurchan, to undertake the treacherous seizure of Sir John Cathanach, which he did, with two of his sons, at the Castle of Finlagan, in Isla, when the three were taken to Edinburgh, found guilty of high treason, executed on the Barrowmuir, and buried in the church of St. Anthony.

Sir John married Cecilia Savage, daughter of a powerful chieftain of that name, at Portaferry, county Down. By this lady he had four sons, two of whom, we have seen, were executed with their father at Edinburgh. Alexander the elder surviving son, became chief of the Clandonald South, or Isla, and ultimately settled in the Glynns of Ulster, whither he had been followed, not only by a large number of his own more immediate retainers, but by many from other smaller clans, who had agreed, on the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles, in 1476, to follow the banner of Clann Ian Mhoir, or Macdonalds of Isla. A full and well-written account of this branch of the family, from whom the Macdonnells, Earls of Antrim, and other distinguished Scoto-Irish families in Ulster, appeared in 1873,

entitled "An Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim," from the learned pen of the Rev. George Hill, editor of "The Montgomery Manuscripts". It is therefore not deemed necessary to follow the elder branch here.

The second surviving son, Angus, settled finally in Sanda, an island on the South East coast of the Mull of Cantire, and became the progenitor of a numerous and powerful family. He was called

ANGUS SLACK MACDONALD, first of the family of Sanda.

In 1640 his grandson,

ARCHIBALD, or GILLESPIE MOR MACDONALD, was at the head of the family, who with his son,

ALEXANDER, or ALASTAIR OG MACDONALD was massacred at the Castle of Dunaverty by the Covenanters, in 1647, when his son,

RANALD MACDONALD, was an infant. He was rescued by his nurse, who wrapped him in an Argyll tartan plaid, and in her flight was met by one of the enemy, who exclaimed, on seeing his own tartan, "This is the plaid of a Campbell, but the boy has the eye of a Macdonald." She was however allowed to pass with her interesting charge, and for a time managed to conceal him in a cave, in Kintyre, until she was able to escape. Young Ranald was brought up in the family of Bute.

He ultimately succeeded to the property, and married Anne, daughter of Sir Dugald Stuart, baronet, and sister of John, first Earl of Bute, with issue—

1. Archibald his heir, who died in 1681, aged 34, and was succeeded by his son,

ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, who married Helen, daughter of David Cunningham of Caddel, with issue—

JOHN MACDONALD, who married Penelope, daughter of Mackinnon of Mackinnon., (her sister Flora, married Ranald XVI. of Clanranald) with issue—

1. Archibald, who died unmarried.

2. John, who succeeded.

3. Robert.

He died in 1786, and was succeeded by his second son,

JOHN MACDONALD, who married Cecilia Douglas Kinneir, only child of William Douglas, by Cecilia, heiress of Kinneir, in the county of Fife, with issue—

1. John his heir, afterwards Sir John Macdonald Kinneir.
2. William, who succeeded his brother, Sir John.
3. Archibald, Captain, R.N., born 13th of November, 1786, and married, Harriet Cox, with issue—(1) John, a General, H.E.I.C.S., who died in Canada ; (2) Archibald, a Captain, H.E.I.C.S. ; (3) William ; (4) Donald, a Captain, H.E.I.C.S., killed at Meerut, during the Indian Mutiny, in 1857 ; (5) Alexander Somerled, in the Royal Marines, who died young ; (6) Clementina Malcolm ; (7) Harriet ; and (8) Amelia, who married George Trevor-Roper of Rock Ferry, Cheshire.

4. David, a Captain in the Indian Navy.

5. Alexander, born 25th of November, 1815, Captain in the Indian Army, and Political Agent at Mhow, Bengal, He died in 18 .

6. Douglas, who married Patrick Hadow of Colney House, Herts, with issue—Flora Georgina, who married her cousin, the Rev. Douglas Macdonald, B.A.

7. Cecilia ; 8. Flora ; 9. Penelope.

John Macdonald of Sanda, died in 1796, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

SIR JOHN MACDONALD KINNEIR, K.S.I., Lieutenant-Colonel Madras Army, Service Town Major, Madras, 1814 ; and appointed British Envoy at the Court of Persia (where he was created a Knight of the Order of the Sun and Lion), by Lord Amherst, in 1820. Born in 1781, he married, Amelia Harriet, third daughter of Sir Alexander Campbell, baronet. He died in Persia, in 1830, without issue, and was succeeded by his brother,

THE REV. WILLIAM MACDONALD, Archdeacon of Wilts, Canon of Salisbury, and Vicar of Bishop's Canning, Wilts ; born on the 10th of August, 1783 ; and married on the 16th of June, 1810, Frances, daughter of Maurice Goodman of Oare House, Wilts, with issue—

1. Douglas, B.A., his heir,

2. William Maurice, M.A., Rector of Colstone Wellington Wilts; born 5th of April, 1814; married 27th of June, 1839, Elizabeth, daughter of Patrick Hadow, without issue. He died 17th of April, 1880.

3. Archibald, a Captain in the Indian Navy; born 25th of November, 1815; died unmarried, 3rd of March, 1845.

4. Fitzherbert, Registrar of the Diocese of Salisbury, and Chapter Clerk; born 30th May, 1819; married 17th of April, 1845, Eliza, daughter of Penguin Bingham, without issue.

5. Reginald John, died unmarried, 22nd of July, 1835.

6. Alexander Cleiland, born 28th of May, 1831; married Elizabeth, daughter of J. Campian, without issue.

7. Frances Elizabeth. 8. Sophia. 9. Penelope.

The Rev. William Macdonald died, on the 24th of June, 1862, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

THE REV. DOUGLAS MACDONALD, B.A., for twenty years Vicar of West Alvington, county Devon. Born 28th of May, 1811, he was educated at Westminster, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, and married, on the 30th of November, 1837, Flora Georgina, daughter of Patrick Hadow of Colney House, Herts, with issue—

1. Douglas John Kinneir, his heir.

2. Godfrey William, born 3rd of January, 1848; died 25th November, in the same year.

3. Maurice Patrick, born 16th of March, 1850, died 19th July, 1876.

Angus, born 25th of December, 1851; Curate of Highworth, North Wilts; married 15th February, 1878, Alice, daughter of Robert Jenner, of Highworth.

5. Flora. 6. Frances Amelia. 7. Cecilia Susan. 8. Eva. 9. Helen Sophia. 10. Another.

The Rev. Douglas Macdonald died on the 11th of February, 1865, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

DOUGLAS JOHN KINNEIR MACDONALD, now of Sanda, Deputy Registrar of the Diocese of Salisbury, and Chapter Clerk; born 24th of October, 1838; and married, 21st of

November, 1867,, Jane MacNeill, eldest daughter of John Alexander Mackay of Blackcastle, Midlothian, with issue—

1. Douglas Kinneir, his heir, born 14th of December, 1868.
2. John Ranald, born 9th of September, 1870.
3. Elsie Hay.
4. Penelope Flora, died in infancy.
5. Lilian Cecilia.

*See page 100
probable of lands.*

THE MACDONALDS OF KEPPOCH.

THE founder of the warlike family of Keppoch was I. ALASTAIR CARRACH MACDONALD, third son of John, first Lord of the Isles, by his second wife, the Lady Margaret, daughter of Robert, High Steward of Scotland, who, in the year 1370, ascended the throne by the title of Robert II. On the 5th of September, 1394, Thomas Dunbar Earl of Murray, and Alexander de Insulis, Dominus de Lochaber, bind themselves to support each other. In 1398, he seizes the Church lands of Kinmylies, and takes upon himself the partition of them. In the complaint which William, Bishop of Moray, lodged against him, he is styled "Magnificus vir et potens, Alexander de Insulis, Dominus de Louchabre". In 1402, he robbed the Canonry of Elgin and burned the town, for which he afterwards made amends. In 1431, he was forfeited for joining Donald Balloch,* and his lands were partly bestowed upon Mackintosh, but the Keppochs kept forcible possession of them by the right of the sword until 1745. The author of the "Comhachag," referring to him says—

Chunnaic mi Alastair Carrach,
An duin' a b' allail a bha 'n Albainn;
'S minig a bha mi ga 'éisdeachd
'S e aig reiteach nan tom-sealga.

Another writer says that Alexander I. of Keppoch was of the "fyfte house of Clan-Donald; neirest this [the Macdonalds of Isla] descendit frae the house of Clan Donald is Alexander Carrach, that is Shawit Alexander sua that be the countrie's custome, because Highlandmen

* For the part he took in this occasion, see pp. 83-84.

callit the fairest haired, and sua furthe, for this Alexander was the fairest hared man as they say of aney that ever was; and this said Alexander was brother to this Donald of the Isles foresaid, and to John Moir, frae quhome James Kyntyre descendit, and brother of the father syde to Raynald of quhome came the Clan Ranald. And this Carrach hes maney come of him, and good succession in Lochaber called ClanRonald McDonald Glasse vic Alexander, quik bruikes a part of Lochaber sinsyne."

He married a daughter of Earl Malcolm of Lennox, and by her had a son who succeeded (and a daughter who married Mackay of Strathnaver),

II. ANGUS MACDONALD, known among the Highlands as "Aonghas na Fearite." He is styled "Angus de Insulis," in a charter of confirmation granted to "Alano Donaldi capitanei de Clan-Cameron et heredibus inter ipsum Alanum et Mariotam Angusii de Insulis". The author of the "Comhachag" says that Angus was not inferior to Alastair his father, that his seat was at Ferset, and that he had a mill erected on an adjoining stream—Allt-Laire—as if to indicate that he had turned his attention to improvements—

Chunnaic mi Aonghus na 'dheaghaidh,
'S cha b'e sin roghainn 'bu tàire;
'S ann 's an Fheairt a bha 'thuinidh,
'S rinn e muillionn air Allt-Làire.

He had two sons and a daughter—

1. Donald, who succeeded.
2. Alexander, whose son, Donald Glas, succeeded as V. of Keppoch.
3. Mariot, married to Allan Cameron MacDhomhnuill Duibh, who figured at Inverlochy in 1431, and whose son Ewen Mac Alein Mhic Dhomhnuill Duibh, was Captain of Clan Cameron, in 1495.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. DONALD MACDONALD, called "Domhnull Mac-Aonghais," one of the chiefs who made their submission to James IV. at Castle Mingarry, Ardnamurchan, on the 18th of May, 1495. In 1496 or 1497, he was killed in

battle about the head of Glenurchy. The Maclarens of Balquhiddier had made a foray into Braelochaber; but the Macdonalds turning out in force to revenge the injury, the Maclarens sent to their kinsman and ally, Dugald Stewart, first of Appin, asking him to come to their assistance, which he hastened to do. The two chiefs, Donald Macdonald and Dugald Stewart, fell by each other's swords; when Keppoch was succeeded by his son,

IV. JOHN MACDONALD, known as "Ian Aluinn," who was soon after deposed by the clan. Donald Ruadh Beag Mac-Gille-Mhanntaich, a Braerian, frequented the hills of Badenoch, and in various ways annoyed the clan Chattan. Mackintosh, as Steward of Lochaber, ordered Ian Aluinn to deliver him up, which he did. The Mackintoshes accordingly hanged Donald Ruadh Beag from a tree near Clach-na-diolt, Torgulben, a townland at the end of Loch Laggan, in the march between Lochaber and Badenoch.

The legitimate chief having been deposed by the clan for his unwarlike disposition, a difficulty arose about his successor. Donald Glas, second son of Angus the second chief, and cousin-german of the deposed head of the family, was the heir-male presumptive, and was supported in his claim to succeed by all the descendants of Alastair Carrach, progenitor of the family; but the kinsmen of Donald Ruadh Beag, a numerous tribe who claimed their descent from Donald who, it is said, occupied Fersit before Alastair, and whose descendants, Clann-Mhic-Gille-Mhann-taich, are still in the Braes, sent to Uist for Goiridh, a descendant of Godfrey first Lord of Uist, second son of Ian nan Eilean, by his first wife, Amie NicRuari. Donald Glas, however, was chosen. Goiridh settled at Tir-na-drìs, and his descendants, not yet extinct, are called "Sliochd Ghoiridh". Ian Aluinn, the deposed chief, removed to "Urchair," an out-of-the-way place, which his descendants, "Sliochd Dhomhnuill," so called from Donald his father, continued to occupy till the end of last century, when they settled in various parts of the Braes of Lochaber. Of this tribe, styled also "Sliochd a' bhràthar 'bu shine," was the

celebrated Ian Lom, whose father was Domhnull Mac Ian Mhic Dhomhnuill Mhic Ian Aluinn.*

The succession now fell to

V. DONALD GLAS MACDONALD, cousin-german to the deposed chief, at the time advanced in years. He had his residence at Coille-Diamhain, on Torran-nan-Ceap, within a mile of the present Keppoch House. He married a daughter of Cameron of Lochiel, with issue, one son, who succeeded as,

VI. RANALD MACDONALD, known as "Raonull Mor". He fought with John Moydartach against Lord Lovat and Ranald Galla, at Blar-leine, in 1544, and was, with Lochiel, apprehended by the Earl of Huntly at the instigation of Mackintosh, not only for his share in this slaughter, but also for supporting all the rebellions hatched in Ranald's time, by the Earl of Lennox. Both he and Lochiel were imprisoned in the castle of Ruthven; tried at Elgin in 1547, for high treason; where they were beheaded, and their heads exposed on the gates of the city.

He married a daughter of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, with issue—

I. Alexander, or Alastair, who died, without issue, before his father. Tradition has it that while hunting in the woods of Lag-a-Leamhan, Achadh-a'-mhadaidh, he was accidentally wounded between the toes by an arrow; that the wound festered; and that he was sent to a medical man at Kingussie, where he was poisoned. This would be before his father's death, as he was unable to lead the Lochaber men against the Camerons, at the feud of Boloyne. His father was confined to bed at the time and his brother, Ian Dubh, had to take his place. This is borne out by the author of the "Comhachag," with whom he seems to have been a great favourite, and who says of him,

An Cinn-a'-ghiubhsaich na 'laidhe,
Tha nàmhaid na greighe deirge;
Lamh dheas a mharbhadh a' bhradain,
Bu mhath e'n sabaid na feirge.

* These particulars are taken mainly from a paper by the late D. C. Macpherson of the Advocates' Library, in the *Celtic Magazine* for August, 1879, p. 369.

2. Ranald, who succeeded his father.

He had another son,

3. John, or Ian Dubh (Gille-gun-iarraidh), progenitor of the families of Bohuntin, Tulloch (which includes the families of Dalchoisnie, Aberarder, Creenachan, Moy, Lassentullich and Laggan), and Gallovie. These are generally known in the district as "Sliochd Tigh Ian Duibh," or Black John's descendants, to this day.

Ranald Mor was succeeded by his second son,

VII. RANALD OG MACDONALD, who married a daughter of Duncan Stewart, who would have been fourth of Appin, but by a stroke of "Tuagh bhèarnach Mhic-Artair," a Braerian, he predeceased his father. This chief built a house on Tom-mor, near the site of the present Keppoch House. In 1564, Rannald McRannald McConilglas assisted Glenurchy, against the Clangregor, when that chief invaded Rannoch. In the same year, on the 26th of November, in the Records of the Privy Council, we find an "Obligation by Rannald McRannald McConillglasche of Keppach to hold good rule, etc. Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, cautioner". In 1569, in the same Records, we find—"I, Lachlane McYntosche of Dunnauchtane, be the tennour heiroy bindis and obleisses me and my airis, that I sall mak securitie to Rannald McRannald of Keppach of sic landis and rowmes as he has of me." This was done before the Regent at Inverness, but he was assassinated before the arrangement was completed, and it consequently fell through, as it was by his influence that the Mackintosh was induced to enter into it. On the 12th of June, 1572, at the Isle of Moy, Ronaldus filius Ronaldi Makdonald Glaish a Gargochia gives his bond of service to Mackintosh. Among the witnessess to this document is Niall Mac Dhomhnuill Mhic Neill, Ranald's Gille. In 1577-8, he is one of the chiefs charged to defend Donald MacAngus of Glengarry against Argyll. He repaired Tigh-nan-fleadh in the Eidirloch at the north end of Loch-Tréig, a tigh-chrann or "crannog" which has escaped the notice of our antiquaries. He was contemporary with the author of the

“Comhachag”. Along with Miss Stewart came the first of the Dubh-shuilich, murdered by Turner, p. 143, into Dui-leach, a sept of the Stewarts, so named from their dark, heavy eyebrows. They were ever after the “Fir-bhrataich,” as were the Campbells the “Leine-chrios”. Their descendants are still in Lochaber.

By his wife he had issue—

1. Alexander his heir.

2. Ranald of Inch, who was murdered by his nephew Ranald Og, at Glac-an-Domhnaich, Achaderry.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VIII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, commonly known as “Alastair-nan-cleas,” who is said to have studied and obtained a knowledge of the “Black Art” abroad—hence his name. In the public records we meet with him as “Alexander M’Ranald off Garawgache” from the name of a place on the borders of Glen Nevis, called “a ’Gharbh-dhabhach”.

On the 25th of February, 1588, he gave his bond of service to Mackintosh. In 1591, instigated by Huntly, he made a foray into Strathspey, and afterwards seized the Castle of Inverness, which he was obliged to evacuate shortly after, in 1593. On hearing of the approach of Mackintosh, he and his followers made for the Chanonry of Fortrose in two open boats. They were soon captured, when Ranald of Inch was taken and sent to the Castle of Inverness, but managed soon after to effect his escape. One of the party, Dughall na Sgàirde, was immediately hanged from one of the oars, and on the following day Goiridh Dubh and his son were also hanged; Mackintosh entered Lochaber and carried off the creach of the Braes. In 1593, with Lochiel, Alexander backs an assurance given by Huntly to Kilravock. In the same year Ranald of Inch at the affair of Petty deserts William Mackintosh. Alexander was at the battle of Allt-a-chuailleachain, in 1594. In 1595, when his patron Huntly had to flee abroad, he had to give his bond of service to Argyll, delivering one of his sons as a hostage. Three years after he assists

the Dunbars. He is mentioned in the act ordaining a levy of Highlanders to assist the Queen of England in her wars in Ireland, in 1602. In the same year his name occurs in the Act of Privy Council anent wapponshawings in the Highlands. With Allan Cameron of Lochiel he assisted Argyll in suppressing an insurrection of the Clangregor. At Tir-na-dris, ten miles east from Fort-William, may be seen below the coach road to Kingussie, a small enclosure planted with a tuft of Scotch firs, called Cladh Chlann-Ghriogair. Several of that brave clan took refuge at a place close by, called Eas Chlann-Ghriogair. They were taken, probably about this time (1610), and despatched by a party of the Braerians. In 1615, he, with Ranald Og his son, and the eldest son of Clanranald, assisted Sir James Macdonald of Isla in his escape from Edinburgh Castle, accompanying him through the Isles into Ireland. When Sir James went to Spain, "Alastair-nan-cleas" and his son returned to Lochaber. In 1616, a commission was granted to Lord Gordon for the seizure of M'Ranald and his son, and a reward of 5000 merks offered for securing either, dead or alive. Mac Vuirich gives his pedigree as follows:—"Aois an tighearna 1616 an treas la do samhradh. . . . Alasduir Mac Raghnaill, Mhic Raghnaill, Mhic Dhonaill Ghlais, Mhic Aonghuis, Mhic Alasduir Charraich, Mhic Eoin, Mhic Aonghuis Oig, *i.e.*, tighearna Lochaber;" that is, "Alexander son of Ranald, son of Ranald, son of Donald Glas, son of Angus, son of Alexander or Alastair Carrach, son of John [of the Isles], son of Angus Og".

They still continued outlawed so late as July, 1616, on which date a commission of fire and sword was granted to Mackintosh against them. It was soon recalled by the influence of Lord Gordon, who himself secured one against young Ranald. In 1617-18, Alexander and his son Ranald, made their escape to Spain. In 1620, Alexander, after the fall of Argyll, is recalled home, and receives a pension of 200 merks sterling, with a remission for all his past offences, the king having written to the Scottish

Privy Council in his favour, and in that of Sir James. Keppoch appeared before the Council, and, trusting to a six months' protection from the king, he proposed to visit Lochaber, but was directed to remain in Edinburgh, until he found sufficient security for his future obedience to the laws. He seems to have succeeded in this, for we soon after find him settled in Lochaber in peaceable possession of his estate. Lochiel and his son being at this time outlawed, a commission against them was granted to Lord Gordon, who was at the same time to apprehend or kill Ranald MacRanald, eldest son of Keppoch, who had contrived to conceal himself in Lochaber since 1615.* The commission was not vigorously acted upon; and as Lochiel and Keppoch were both vassals of Lord Gordon it is supposed that he undertook this service more with the view of preventing Mackintosh, who was disposed to carry matters to extremities against Keppoch and Lochiel, from more active interference.

Alexander married a daughter of Macdougall of Lorn, with issue—

1. Ranald, his heir.
2. Donald Glas, who succeeded his nephew.
3. Alexander.
4. Donald Gorm of Inveroy, progenitor of "Tigh Mhur-lagain".
5. Donald of Inch.
6. Agnes, who married Robertson of Strowan; and other three daughters, who married, respectively, John Stewart, first of Ardsheal, MacDonald of Dalness, and Robertson of Calebuie.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

IX. RANALD OG MACDONALD, who was an outlaw all his life, and never seems to have come into actual possession of the property. Having, while an outlaw, in the Swedish army obtained from his brother, Donald Glas, early information of the intended invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, he sent a warning to the govern-

* Records of the Privy Council, January, February, March, and July, 1621.

ment, and for this valuable service he received his pardon, with permission to return to his native country. He married an Irish lady, called "a Bhain-tighearna Bheag," who brought with her a tocher of Irishmen, to whom the townland of Ionar-Odhair was allotted. Here their descendants continued to reside, as a colony, till the end of last century, when they emigrated to America. Of this tocher are the Boyles and the Burkes, still in the Braes. Na Bùrcaich have now changed their name to Macdonald. The Baintighearna Bheag somehow mysteriously disappeared ; but she is still seen, it is said, by favourites, of a winter evening in the woods of Coille-Diamhain. Ranald hid himself for a long time in Uamh-an-Aghastair, in the hills of Lochtreig ; but managed to escape to Spain, and is supposed to have died in London. By his wife he had issue a son,

X. ANGUS MACDONALD. In 1639, the Campbells laid waste the Braes of Lochaber. To revenge the injury some 120 of the Braerians made a foray into the lands of the Campbells. On their way homewards Angus fell in a skirmish with them at Stron-a-chlachain, in the year 1640. Ian Lom (Turner, p. 98) laments his loss. He left a young family, but his son, Angus, for some unknown cause, did not succeed him. He was progenitor of Ach-nan-coichean, and died at an advanced age. His grand-daughter, Ni' Mhic Aonghuis Oig, was the authoress of "An Ulaidh phriseil 'bha bhuainne" (Turner, p. 128).

Angus was succeeded by his uncle,

XI. DONALD GLAS MACDONALD, second son of Alexander VIIIth chief, who fought against Argyll at Inverlochy, and was forfeited in consequence. He had been an officer in the Spanish army, during the reign of Phillip II., when he received the information which he conveyed to his brother, Ranald Og, of the intended Spanish invasion of England. He married a daughter of Forrester of Kilbaggie, Clackmannan-shire, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. Ranald, assassinated in 1663.

3. A daughter, who died unmarried. She composed "Cumha ni' Mhic Raonuill".

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

R XII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who, with his brother Ranald, was murdered in 1663, by some of their discontented followers. It was on this occasion that "Ian Lom" composed his Lament, "Murt na Ceapaich". We have already given an account of this tragedy and the terrible punishment of the assassins, which so soon followed upon their horrible proceedings [pp. 217-218].* After the murder of their young chief the indignation of his faithful clansmen found vent in the destruction of the old castle of Keppoch, which they levelled to the ground. It was situated on the banks of the Moy, where it falls into the Spean, and the site still shows traces of the moat by which it was surrounded, though the change since in the course of the river left it dry. The house which succeeded it was built a little distance from the spot on which the old castle stood. It was burnt by Cumberland's troops after the battle of Culloden.

Alexander and his brother were educated abroad, and were, for the times in which they lived, accomplished young men. They both died unmarried, when Alexander was succeeded by his uncle and tutor,

XIII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, third son of Alexander eighth, and brother of Donald Glas, eleventh chief. He is commonly known among his countrymen as "Alastair Buidhe". In 1647, a letter of Lawburrows is issued

* Since the above was in type we have discovered that the Keppoch Murder was afterwards the subject of legal proceedings. Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, F.S.A., Scot., M.P., informs us that he has lately discovered a paper bearing on the subject, which he promises to illustrate in an early number of the *Celtic Magazine*; meantime it may be stated that, in 1671, Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch, Donald Gorme in Inveroyre, Alexander Macdonald in Bohuntin, Alexander Macdonald in Creenachen, Donald Macdonald in Blarnahinven, Alexander Macdonald in Tulloch, Alexander Macdonald in Murligan, and Angus Macdonald in Achluachrach, were all indicted for the murder and slaughter, of the deceased Alexander Macdonald in Keppoch, and Ronald Macdonald his brother, committed by them upon the day of September, 1663. It will be interesting to notice that they, like the Macdonalds of Glengarry, down to about this period, and indeed much later—spelt their names like the other members of the clan.

against him by Chisholm of Comar. In 1650, as Tutor of Keppoch, he is ordered to command those bearing his name, or who are his friends. He married, first, a daughter of Angus Mor Macdonald of Bohuntin. When not acting Tutor of Keppoch, he resided first at Glac-a'-bhriogais; at other times at Tom-an-tigh-mhoir, Bohuntin. By his first wife, who was drowned on Bun-Ruaidh, he had—

1. Allan, his heir, known as “Ailein Dearg,” and killed at Tulloch, while his father was yet alive; probably for the part he took in the murder of his cousins. Allan left issue, and many of his descendants are now settled in Mabou, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia. He is supposed to have been unmarried, otherwise his descendants ought to have succeeded to Keppoch.

2. Archibald, who succeeded his father.

3. Alexander, who died without issue.

He married, secondly, a daughter of John Macdonell of Glengarry with issue—

4. Donald Gorm, ancestor of the family of Clinaig.

5. Ranald na Dalach, who died without issue.

Also four daughters, who married respectively, Macdonald of Fersit, Macdonald of Glencoe, Macdonald of Ardnabi, and Kennedy of Linachan Mor.

Alexander was dead before 1665, he having been drowned in a pool on the river Spean, called to this day “The major’s pool,” when he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son,

XIV. ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, called in Gaelic, “Gillespic na Ceapaich”. He was educated at Forres, and had the reputation of being very shrewd. In 1667, some of his retainers made a raid into Glenesk, but apparently without his consent. In September, 1675, he joined Glengarry and Lochiel on a voyage to Mull, to assist the Macleans against Argyll. He was one of the Highland chiefs who presented themselves at Inverlochy in November, 1678. He is again on record in 1679. He was a good Gaelic poet, and a few of his many songs are

still extant. He married Mary, daughter of MacMartin of Letterfinlay, with issue—

1. Coll, his heir.

2. Ranald Mor of Tir-na-dris, who signed the address to George I. His son Donald joined Prince Charles in 1745, and was executed at Carlisle in 1746, leaving issue, one of whom, Sarah, married Major Alexander Macdonell of the First Royals, son of Ranald Og, XVII. of Keppoch, with issue. Ranald had also a daughter who married Macdonald of Bohuntin.

3. Angus Odhar, a valiant youth, who composed a number of songs, one of which may be seen in *Leabhar Raonuill Duibh*, 1776, page 266.

4. Alexander, or Alastair Odhar, a brave warrior. Both these appear to have died young, without issue.

5. Moir.

6. Janet, who married Macintyre of Glencoe.

7. Catherine, grandmother of Lachlan Macpherson of Strathmashie, who also inherited the bardic genius of the family.

8. Cecilia, or Juliet, known among the Highlanders as "Sileas na Ceapach," the famous Gaelic poetess, who married Gordon of Kildrummie and Baldornie, and became ancestor of the present Gordons of Wardhouse.

Archibald died in 1682, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

XV. COLL MACDONALD, a famous warrior, known as "Coll of the Cows". He was attending to his education at the University of St. Andrews, and only eighteen years of age when his father died, and he had to come home, to take charge of the property and the lead of his clan. In 1685-6, he joined the Duke of Gordon, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Strathnaver, in their invasion of Argyllshire. In 1688, he fought Mulroy, on a hill of that name, near Keppoch House, the last clan battle fought in the Highlands, where he completely defeated the Mackintoshes, and captured their chief, who invaded Lochaber in support of the king's troops. In the recently published *History of the Mackintoshes* the

origin of the quarrel is thus described :—Being north at his father's funeral, young Coll went to Inverness, whence, according to his own account, in a petition to the Privy Council—' he did send some of his friends to the laird of Mackintosh, and offered an accommodation, and his full resolution to submit himself and his interests to a legal decision or amicable determination'. But Mackintosh 'in return to this message and humble desire, by his own clandestine warrant, caused summarily apprehend the petitioner and commit him prisoner within the Tolbooth of Inverness, without the least probation of his guilt, or breach of the the peace,' refusing also either to take bail for the prisoner's appearance when required, or to put him on his trial. The result of Keppoch's petition was, an order from the Council, dated, 1st Feb., 1683, to the Magistrates of Inverness, 'to set the petitioner at liberty, on finding sufficient caution as stated in the books of Council, to present himself at the council bar, 15th day of March next, for giving such security as the Council shall think fit to appoint, and that under the penalty of one thousand pounds'. For a few years the parties seem to have remained quiet, the Macdonalds continuing in the occupation of the lands [of Keppoch], but in 1688, matters came to a crisis, which resulted in the last clan battle fought in Scotland. On 1st March of this year, the Privy Council renewed against Coll Macdonald, the commission given to Mackintosh in 1681 against his father; besides, as usual, ordering the concurrence of the men of Inverness, and the neighbouring shires, the Council gave Mackintosh the aid of a company of regular soldiers under the command of Captain Kenneth Mackenzie of Suddie. Mackintosh's force, it is said, numbered about 1000. The hostile parties met on the 4th of August, and a sanguinary hand-to-hand fight immediately ensued. Keppoch gained a decided victory; took Mackintosh prisoner, and killed Captain Mackenzie, who commanded the king's troops. Several of the leading men of the clan Chattan were slain, among others, Lachlan Mackintosh of Aberarder, and his brothers John and William, while a large number were

taken prisoners. Mackintosh was obliged to give up his old claim and titles to the lands of Keppoch, and he was afterwards rescued by the Macphersons, having in the words of Skene, "the double humiliation of having been captured by the Macdonalds, whom he despised as mere refractory tenants, and rescued by the Macphersons, whom he had treated with so little forbearance or consideration". The banner of the Mackintoshes is said to have been saved from falling into the hands of the victorious Macdonalds, by the standard-bearer jumping across a chasm over which no one dared to follow him.

Mackintosh, after his release, complained of Coll's resistance to the law, and the slaughter of the government soldiers, when the Privy Council gave orders to lay waste the lands of Keppoch, by fire and sword, and at the same time issued letters of intercommuning against him. Two hundred of the Foot Guards, and a troop of dragoons were sent in the end of August, "to destroy man, woman, and child, pertaining to the Laird of Cappagh, and to burn his houses and corn". Keppoch took refuge in the mountains, and escaped, but the orders were in other respects executed with merciless severity. The soldiers remained for nearly a month.

Coll joined Dundee in 1688, when he was despatched by the Western chiefs, to escort him into Lochaber. Instead of performing this duty, he laid siege to Inverness, the inhabitants of which, probably, aided Mackintosh on previous occasions against him; and he had not yet forgotten his imprisonment there, by the Magistrates in 1683. On this occasion he demanded the sum of 4000 merks, and held several of the leading citizens, whom he had captured, as hostages until his demands were complied with. The inhabitants were in great consternation, when Dundee turned up in April, 1689, and prevailed upon them to settle their differences, by a payment from the town to Keppoch of 2000 merks, for which the Viscount gave Coll Macdonald his personal bond. Dundee tried to bring about a reconciliation between Keppoch and Mackintosh, but the latter

refused to enter into any arrangements with his old enemy, when to Coll's delight, Dundee ordered him to drive away the cattle belonging to Mackintosh.

Describing these transactions, Macaulay writes, "Common enmities and common apprehensions produced a good understanding between the town and the clan of Mackintosh. The foe most hated and dreaded by both was Coll Macdonald of Keppoch, an excellent specimen of the genuine Highland Jacobite. Keppoch's whole life had been passed in insulting and resisting the authority of the crown. He had been repeatedly charged on his allegiance to desist from his lawless practices, but had treated every admonition with contempt. The government, however, was not willing to resort to extremities against him ; and he long continued to rule undisturbed the stormy peaks of Coryarrick, and the gigantic terraces which still mark the limits of what was once the Lake of Glenroy. He was famed for his knowledge of all the ravines and caverns of that dreary region ; and such was the skill with which he could track a herd of cattle to the most secret hiding-place that he was known by the nickname of Coll of the Cows. At length his outrageous violations of all law compelled the Privy Council to take decided steps. He was proclaimed a rebel ; letters of fire and sword were issued against him under the seal of James ; and, a few weeks before the Revolution, a body of troops, supported by the whole strength of the Mackintoshes, marched into Keppoch's territories. Keppoch gave battle to the invaders, and was victorious. The king's forces were put to flight ; the king's captain was slain ; and this by a hero whose loyalty to the king many writers have very complacently contrasted with the factious turbulence of the Whigs. If Keppoch had ever stood in any awe of the government, he was completely relieved from that feeling by the general anarchy which followed the Revolution. He wasted the lands of the Mackintoshes, advanced to Inverness, and threatened the town with destruction. The danger was extreme. The houses were surrounded only

by a wall which time and weather had so loosened that it shook in every storm. Yet the inhabitants showed a bold front ; and their courage was stimulated by their preachers. Sunday, the twenty-eighth of April, was a day of alarm and confusion. The savages went round and round the small colony of Saxons like a troop of famished wolves round a sheepfold. Keppoch threatened and blustered. He would come in with all his men. He would sack the place. The burghers meanwhile mustered in arms round the market cross to listen to the oratory of their ministers. The day closed without an assault ; the Monday and Tuesday passed away in intense anxiety ; and then an unexpected mediator made his appearance.”* The anxiety of the inhabitants may be gathered from the following, in the Inverness Kirk Session Records of the period. “ 28th April, 1689, Sabbath. That day sermon was preached by Mr. Gilbert Marshall in the forenoon at the Cross, and that by reason Coll Macdonald was about the town, boasting to come in with his whole force, consisting of 800 or 900 and plunder the town. Afternoon : Mr. Mackenzie preached as aforesaid, all the citizens being necessitated to stand in a posture of defence. No collection. Tuesday no sermon, and that by reason of our confusions.” Keppoch and his clan accompanied Dundee and fought with him at Killiecrankie on the 27th of July, 1689.

In 1690, Mackintosh brought his difference with Keppoch before the Scottish Parliament, and on the 18th of July, an act is passed in which it is declared that Coll Macdonald “not only illegallie possesses the petitioner’s interest in the Brae of Lochaber, but also, with the concurse of the other rebels in arms because of the said petitioner [Mackintosh] not joyneing Lord Dundie upon his comeing to the countrey, did most barbarously in contempt of the present Government burn his house at Dunnachton, haill furniture and office houses belonging thereto, and did harrie and robb his haill lands in Badzenach, Strathnairn, and Strath-erne, thereby exposing the said petitioner to a vast loss

* History of England, vol. iv., pp. 338-40.

and his tennents to beggarie, whereby his hail lands are laid waste and will so continue until the petitioner be in a condition to replenish them." The next act refers to previous commissions granted against Keppoch in the execution of which Mackintosh "had several of his kinsmen and followers killed," and showing that Coll had carried from the lands of the petitioner, "all the portable goods thereupon, worth at least 40,000 merks, so that the whole tenants and possessors thereof were forced to flee, and are now with their wives and children begging their bread and living upon charity, not daring for fear of their lives to return to their ground." In consequence of this, Mackintosh is relieved from the payment of cess until such time as he can obtain peaceable possession of his lands, and so long as they remain waste. Government, however, do not appear to have taken any active means of aiding him in the matter. They are put to the horn in June, 1697, and in July following "letters of criminal caption" are issued, against Keppoch and one hundred and thirty of his followers, but all without avail. In 1698, the old commissions of fire and sword of 1681 and 1688 were renewed in favour of Mackintosh because, among other things, the Keppoch Macdonalds "in manifest contempt thereof [the king's authority and laws] dayly and continually frequents and repairs to kirk, mercat, and other public places within the realm as if they were our free liedges". Though almost all the chiefs in the south are included in those who are to execute the commission, and though letters are addressed to the Sheriffs of Inverness, Ross, Nairn, Perth, and Aberdeen, charging all men between sixteen and sixty years of age to assist Mackintosh; though the commanding officer of the regular Forces at Fort-William was directed to give his assistance, the Macdonalds were allowed to remain in possession of their lands. Mackintosh does not even appear to have made any serious attempt to dislodge them, and Coll continued at large at the head of his warlike followers. He joined the Earl of Mar and was at Sheriffmuir in 1715.

He married Barbara, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, tenth baron and third baronet of Sleat, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. Donald, killed at Culloden, without issue.
3. Margaret.

He died about 1723, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

XVI. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, who studied at the University of Glasgow, where he is entered, “Alexander *M'Donald* filius natu maximus Domini de Keapach,” in 1713. He signed the address of the Highland chiefs to George I., but was among the first to join the standard of the Prince at Glenfinnan. A body of his followers were the first to draw blood in the campaign. He left his brother Donald in Lochaber to watch the movements of a small body of Royal troops stationed at Fort-Augustus. The English, hearing of the Prince's landing, despatched some troops under the command of Captain Scott, with the view of surprising the gathering at Glenfinnan. This body was intercepted by the Keppoch men at High Bridge, Lochaber, when they were charged, defeated, and Captain Scott taken prisoner, while most of his men were slaughtered. It is said that Keppoch presented the Prince with the charger taken from Captain Scott on this occasion.

Keppoch fell gallantly, exhibiting unprecedented heroism at Culloden, marching alone to meet the enemy and certain destruction, when his clansmen with the other Macdonalds refused to follow him to the charge. Chambers describing the conduct of the other Macdonalds on this occasion writes—“From this conduct there was a brilliant exception, in the chieftain of Keppoch, as a man of chivalrous character, and noted for great private worth. When the rest of his clan retreated, Keppoch exclaimed, with feelings not to be appreciated in modern society, ‘My God, have the children of my tribe forsaken me!’—he then advanced, with a pistol in one hand and a drawn sword in the other, resolved apparently to sacrifice his life to the offended genius of his name. He had got but a little way

from his regiment, when a musket shot brought him to the ground, and a clansmen of more than ordinary devotedness,* who followed him, and with tears and prayers conjured him not to throw his life away, raised him, with the cheering assurance that his wound was not mortal, and that he might still quit the field with life. Keppoch desired his faithful follower to take care of himself, and again rushing forward, received another shot, and fell to rise no more.”†

The manner in which his lifeless body was carried off the field, illustrates in a touching manner the remarkable devotion in those days of the Highlanders to their chiefs. A young Keppoch Macdonald, mortally wounded, was found by his father, who endeavoured to save him, by carrying him on his back from the field of carnage, but the devoted youth, recognising the body of his chief in passing, implored his father to leave him to die, and to save the remains of his chief from the insults of Cumberland’s soldiers. The father immediately obeyed the request of his dying son, and carried in his place the body of the gallant Keppoch to a small hut a little way off, where several of the

* The following would seem to show that this “clansman,” was only so through his mother, he being, according to his grandson, no other than John Mackenzie of Torridon. “He [that is John Mackenzie of Torridon] led into action the few Mackenzies who fought in that battle. He was a nephew of Macdonald of Keppoch (one of the seven men of Moidart), and was personally requested by Lady Seaforth to take up arms for the Prince, and he attached himself, with the personal following who attended him, to his uncle’s standard. The Macdonalds, in strong resentment for having been placed on the left instead of the right of Charles Edward, refused to charge when ordered by their commander. Keppoch, uttering the touching exclamation, ‘My God! that I should live to be deserted by my own children!’ then charged, accompanied by my grandfather and his small following. He soon fell pierced by balls; and then, while my grandfather wept over him, exhorted him to leave the field as the brief action was already over, and the dragoons were already scattering over the field in pursuit. Some of the Macdonalds placed themselves under their chief’s ‘favourite nephew,’ as he is called in Scott’s account of the battle. Tradition says that some of them were disposed to run when they saw parties of the dragoons approaching them, but that Torridon spoke briefly, ‘Keep together men. If we stand shoulder to shoulder these men will be far more frightened at us than we can be of them. But remember, if you scatter, they have four legs to each of your two, and you will stand singly but small chance against them.’ They took his advice, and he led them in fair order off the field.”—*Letter from the late Bishop Mackenzie of Nottingham, printed at pp. 454-455 of Mackenzies “History of the Mackenzies”*.

† Rebellion, p. 253.

dead and wounded had been removed to. The hut was almost immediately after set fire to by Cumberland's orders ; the dead and dying given to the flames and burnt to ashes. Keppoch House, soon after the battle, was burnt to the ground, and his widow and orphans had to find shelter in a cave at the side of Loch Treig. By the taste of an English officer, one of the old plain trees, which ranged along the side of the old castle, and a young pear tree in the garden, were left standing. The latter though much damaged by many a storm, continued to bear fruit, until it was blown down by a severe gale, in the spring of 1879.

Alexander married Jessie, daughter of Robert Stewart of Appin, by his second wife, a daughter of Robert Campbell of Lochnell, with issue—

1. Ranald Og, his heir.
2. Alexander, the "Maidsear Mor".
3. Katharine, who married John Macdonald of Killichonate.
4. Jessie, who married Alexander Macdonald of Tullochcrom.
5. Barbara, who, on the 28th of December, 1757, married, as his second wife, the Rev. Patrick Macdonald, minister of Kilmore, (descended from the family of Sleat) who edited a collection of Highland vocal airs collected by his brother, Joseph Macdonald, in 1781. "She was a Roman Catholic, and attended neither public nor private worship with the family." She died in 1804, leaving issue—Annie, who, on the 11th of July, 1797, married Donald, third son of Angus Bàn, progenitor of the Macdonells of Inch.
6. Annie who married Mr. Gordon, Stirling.
7. Clementina, who married MacNab of Innisewen.
8. Charlotte, who, between 1775 and 1776, married Alexander Macdonald of Garvabeg, son of the Rev. Patrick Macdonald, her sister's husband, by his first wife, a daughter of Mackintosh of Balnespick, with issue—Jessie, who married John MacNab, a cadet of the family of Innisewen, with issue—a daughter, Christina, who on the 17th

of July, 1835, married Angus, grandson of Angus Bàn of Inch, with issue.

9. A daughter, who married "Alexander's son".

Keppoch had also a son,

Angus Bàn (Gille gun iarraidh), who fought with his father at Culloden, of whom and of his descendants—the late Macdonells of Inch—presently.

Keppoch was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

XVII. RANALD OR RAONULL OG MACDONALD, who fought through the American War. He became a Colonel in the British army. It is said that the Keppoch Macdonalds supplied no less than 300 men to the 79th Cameron Highlanders, when first raised by General Sir Alan Cameron of Erracht, in 1793, and that the General in designing the new tartan for his regiment, still worn by that distinguished corps, adopted a blend of the Keppoch and Cameron tartans. In 1752, Ranald petitioned for restitution of the family estates and compensation for losses, proving the death of his father at Culloden before the Act of Attainder; but without success. He, in 1757, joined the 78th or Fraser Highlanders, raised in that year, as Lieutenant, and greatly distinguished himself, in 1759, at the siege of Quebec, under Wolfe, where he was wounded in action. He married Sarah, daughter of Thomas Cargill of Jamaica, with issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.

2. Richard, a Lieutenant in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, who died unmarried, in Jamaica, in 1819.

3. Jessie, who married Duncan Stewart, W.S., one of the Stewarts of Appin, with issue. She died in 1859.

4. Clementina, who died unmarried.

5. Another daughter.

He died before 1798, and was buried at Tom Aingéal, in Cille-Chaorraill, when he was succeeded, as representative of the family, by his eldest son,

XVIII. ALEXANDER MACDONALD, known among the Highlanders as "Am Maidsear Mor," or the Big Major, of

the First Royals. He married Sarah, fourth daughter of Major Donald Macdonell of Tir-na-dris, who, for his share in the Rebellion of 1745, was, in 1746, executed at Carlisle. He afterwards, 1801 to 1803, emigrated to America, and died there, leaving issue by his wife—

1. Chichester, whose descendants in Canada (if any survive), are the legitimate heads of this ancient and warlike family.

2. John, who went to sea in early youth, and died before his father. He was born in 1783, and was married, on the 4th of July, 1818, to Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Coulter, a native of county Down, Ireland, at Baltimore, by the Right Rev. Enoch Fenwick, Rector of St. Peter's there. He died at Baltimore on the 17th of March 1824 (where, in the Cathedral Cemetery, a monument is erected to his memory), leaving issue by his wife—(1) an only child, Alexander Angus.

3. James, born 3rd of March, 1784, married in Canada, on the 7th of May, 1814, Grace MacHenry, and died on the 17th of March, 1832, leaving issue—a daughter, Mary Elizabeth, who, born 20th of August, 1815, married, on the 28th of August, 1841, Frances Von Damman of Bremen, Germany, with issue.

4. Catharine, who married John Dubh Aberdvar.

5. Sarah, who married Charles Carroll.

6. Maria, who married Mr. Johnston Smith.

Major Alexander died at Baltimore, on the 23rd of May, 1840, in the 95th year of his age.* His son, John, predeceased him.

ALEXANDER ANGUS MACDONALD, only son of John, was born on the 11th of November, 1816, and married, on the 9th of April, 1840, at St. James Church, Baltimore, by

* It is only fair to state that some members of the family of Inch maintain that Major Alexander died long before the date here named, though they cannot supply the actual date of his death, and that he was not the progenitor of the descendants ascribed to him in the text. Our authorities are the late Donald C. Macpherson of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, and the Marquis d' Oyley himself. It may be added that Mrs. Macdonell, late of Inch, has acknowledged the Marquise as a Keppoch Macdonald, and that great festivities took place at Keppoch House, on the occasion of her marriage to the Marquis.

the Rev. Father Guildler, Annie, daughter and heiress of Thomas Walsh, county Cork, Ireland, with issue—

1. Ferdinand, who died without issue.

2. Annie-Alexis, who, born on the 28th of May, 1845, married on the 8th of September, 1868, in the Cathedral of Baltimore, U.S.A., by His Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop Spalding, John, Marquis d'Oyley, of Paris, France, with issue—(1) Reginald Donald, born 9th of August, 1869, who was baptised by special permission from His Holiness, 25th December, 1869, in the private chapel of the Royal Palace of Marlia ; his sponser being Martin John Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, and Her Royal Highness Victoria Augusta Princesse de Bourbon ; (2) Gilbert Raoul, born 13th February, 1875, and baptised in the Church of the Madeleine, Paris, 5th October, 1876 ; his sponsors being His Eminence Monseigneur Antonio Cataldi, Grand Master of Ceremonies of Pope Pius IX., and Her Serene Highness Mary, Duchess of Hamilton, Princess of Baden, &c. ; (3) Alastair Ladislas, born 2nd of February, 1880, baptised in St. Augustin's Church, Paris, 13th February, 1881 ; his sponsors being His Royal Highness Ladislas, Prince Cyartoriski, and Her Royal Highness, Margaret, Princess of Parma, Duchess of Madrid.

3. Louise Macdonald, still unmarried.

By Brief, dated 9th February, 1874, Pope Pius IX. granted to the Marquise d'Oyley the privilege of having a private chapel and chaplain ; and by letters patent, dated 8th of February, 1877, he created her a Matrone of the Holy Sepulchre.

Alexander-Angus died on the 6th of June, 1858, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cemetery, Baltimore, U.S.A.

THE MACDONELLS* OF INCH.

ANGUS BAN MACDONELL of Inch, a son of the Keppoch who fell at Culloden, fought there by his father's side, and after the battle carried his sire's sword and dirk from the field, closely pursued by the English troopers. When near home he was so hotly pressed, that he endeavoured to save his father's arms by plunging them in the moss to the west of Keppoch House, where he was unable ever after to find them. In 1878, the remains of the dirk were found, quite recognisable from the peculiar carving on the handle, which corresponded exactly with the handles of the pistols belonging to the same set of arms, presented by the clan to Keppoch shortly before the battle of Culloden, bearing an inscription to that effect, and preserved in the family. Angus after his father's death supported the widow and orphans. He was well known as Macdonell of Inch or "Fear Innse"; and after the direct male line became extinct Angus and his descendants (who, as will be seen, were descended on the female side from two of the daughters of Keppoch who fell at Culloden), succeeded them at Keppoch, and continued to reside in Lochaber until 1879, during which period the old family was never considered to be extinct.

Angus Bàn, married on the 31st of March, 1752, Christina, daughter of Archibald Macdonald of Ach-nan-coichean, with issue—

1. Alexander, who died unmarried.
2. Archibald, who married, Margaret MacLaughlan of Killochoan, with issue—(1) George who died unmarried ;

* This family spell their name Macdonell but it will be seen that the Keppochs called themselves Macdonalds, at least down to Alexander, XVI. chief, who enters the Glasgow University, in 1713, as Macdonald. We cannot discover the precise date at which the form "Macdonell" was adopted by the later members of the family.

(2) Alexander who married Margaret, daughter of Collector Stewart, Ach-nan-con, with issue—Margaret and another daughter, both of whom emigrated to America, and died unmarried; (3) Angus, who married Mary, daughter of Colonel Macdonell of Morar, with issue—Coll, who died unmarried; Archibald; Francis; and Georgina, all of whom emigrated to Australia; (4) Dr. Ewen Macdonell, for many years in India, now in London, who married Annie Hill, with issue—Archibald; Alastair; Cuthbert; and Henrietta; the latter married Anthony Macdonald, Ireland; (5) Maria, who died unmarried.

3. Donald, who, on the 11th of July, 1797, married Anne, only daughter of the Rev. Patrick Macdonald of Kilmore by his wife, Barbara, third daughter of Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch who fell at Culloden, with issue—(1) Angus, who, on the 17th of August, 1835, married Christina, daughter of John MacNab, by his wife, Jessie, grand-daughter of Keppoch of Culloden, with issue—(a) Donald, unmarried; (b) Francis, unmarried; (c) Charlotte, died unmarried; (d) Anne, who married William Kennedy, Portsmouth, with issue—Ranald, William, and Maria; (e) Jessie, who married Keith MacLellan of Melfort, with issue—a daughter Isabella; (f) Maria, who married Alexander R. Macdonald of Ord, Isle of Skye, with issue—Charles; Lauchlan, who died young; Reginald; Anne; Charlotte; and Flora; (g) Teresa, who married George Keith Maitland, a cadet of the Lauderdale family, with issue—Alexander, and Elsie; (h) Josephine, unmarried; and (i) Alice, also unmarried. (2) Ranald, who died unmarried; and (3) Barbara, unmarried.

4. Ranald, who died unmarried;

5. John, who died unmarried;

6. Coll, who died unmarried;

7. Alexandrina, who married Allan Macdonald of Lochans, with issue—(1) Christina, who married Lieutenant Theodore MacRa, Struy, with issue—John, who died in 1879; Allan, a priest now in Strathglass; and Margaret, a nun; with others who died unmarried; (2) Anne, who married Alex-

ander Macdonald, Moy, Lochaber, with issue—Alexander, Juliet, and Mina, and others who died unmarried; (3) Allana, who married, Archibald Macdonald, Moy, her brother-in-law, with issue—Alexander, Allan, and Alexina. These two families emigrated to Australia.

THE MACDONALDS OF DALCHOSNIE.

IT has been said of the Clandonald in general, that “Had they been only wise and prudent, as they were brave and generous, there would never have been a clan to equal it”. To this branch of the clan the saying is most especially applicable. Descended from *Ian-Dubh*, or Black John of Bohuntin, a cadet of the Keppoch family, the “*Sliochd Ian-duibh Mhic Raonull*” have always displayed a remarkable predilection for the profession of arms.

Loyal to the House of Stuart so long as one of that ill-fated race survived to claim their services, they spared neither life nor property when called on by their Prince. On the failure of the Stuart line their allegiance was transferred to the House of Hanover, and they displayed an equal readiness in every clime and under the most desperate circumstances, to fight to the death for their king and country. With hardly any exceptions the male members of this family betook themselves to arms as soon as they could wield them, and in every generation some of them have paid the forfeit of their lives either on the field or from the effect of wounds received in action.

I. JOHN MACDONALD OF BOHUNTIN, called “Dubh” or Black John, was the younger son of Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch, styled “*Raonull Mor*”; was a renowned warrior and took an active part in the feud of 1592, instigated by Huntly between the Macdonalds and Clan Chattan. He is said to have been conspicuous by his stature, strength, and personal beauty, and in skill in the use of arms and in daring courage to have had few equals

and no superior. He married a niece of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, with issue—

1. Alastair, his heir, who married a daughter of Cameron of Strone, and had an only son, Angus Mor, who married, with issue. The last male heir of this elder branch of the Bohuntin family was born deaf and dumb, and died unmarried.

2. Angus of Tulloch, from whom descended the Macdonalds of Dalchosnie.

II. ANGUS MACDONALD OF TULLOCH, who married a daughter of Macdonald of Sithean, a cadet of Glengarry, with issue—

1. Alastair, his heir.

2. Donald, who married first, a daughter of Macdonald of Macduie; secondly, a daughter of Macdonald of Tirna-drish; and thirdly, a daughter of Macdonald of Bohuntin. From him descended the Macdonalds of Moy and of Lassentulloch. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

III. ALASTAIR MACDONALD OF TULLOCH, who fought at Mulroy and at Killiecrankie. At the former, the last feudal battle fought in Scotland, and which arose from a dispute between the Mackintoshes and the Macdonalds of Keppoch for the lands of Lochaber, Alastair was provoked by Captain Mackenzie of Suddie, who commanded a party of government troops sent to assist Mackintosh when Captain Mackenzie was killed. Sir Walter Scott in his "Tales of a Grandfather," thus narrates the incident. "M'Donald was very unwilling to injure any of the government soldiers, yet Suddie their Commander received his death wound; he was brave and well armed with carabine, pistols and a halbert or half pike. This officer came in front of a cadet of Keppoch called M'Donald of Tullich, and by a shot aimed at him killed one of his brothers, and then rushed on with his pike. Notwithstanding this deep provocation, Tullich, sensible of the pretext which the death of a Captain under government would give against his clan, called out more than once 'avoid me,' 'avoid me'. 'The M'Donald was never

born that I would shun,' replied the Mackenzie, pressing on with his pike. On which Tullich hurled at his head a pistol* which he had before discharged. The blow took effect, the skull was fractured, and Mackenzie died shortly afterwards as his soldiers were carrying him to Inverness."

Alastair Macdonald married a daughter of Macdonald of Acha-nan-coichean, with issue—

1. Donald, his heir, who married a niece of Macdonald of Glencoe, and had a son Angus who signed the Address of the Highland chiefs to George I. on his accession. He married a daughter of Macdonald of Killichonate, and had issue; but the family is now believed to be extinct in the direct male line.

2. Allan of Inveray and Dalchosnie, of whom presently; and,

3. John, progenitor of the Macdonalds of Murligan, extinct in the male line.

IV. ALLAN MACDONALD OF INVERAY in Glenlyon, of Dalchosnie, and Tulloch-croisk in Rannoch. He joined the Athole men under Lord James Murray, and took part in the battle of Dunkeld. He afterwards was one of those who at Blair Castle, on the 24th of August, 1689, signed the "Bond of Association," in which he undertook to raise 100 men to support the cause of King James. He married a daughter of William Roy of Mulroy, with issue—

1. John, his heir.

2. Donald of Tulloch-croisk, a Lieutenant in the second Battalion (Lord Charles Murray's) Athole Highlanders, and with them took part in the rising of 1715, and the march into England. He was taken prisoner at Preston, and executed there, in November, 1715. He married a daughter of John Robertson of Drumachewan, and had an only son, Archibald, who entered the army and was killed abroad, unmarried.

Allan was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. JOHN MACDONALD of Inveray and Dalchosnie,

* This pistol belonged to Alastair of Tulloch's second son, Allan of Inveray and Dalchosnie, and it is still in the possession of that family.

another of those who signed the address of the Highland chiefs to George I. on his accession to the throne of Great Britain in 1714, the suppression of which, it is said, caused the Rising of 1715. He was a Lieutenant in the first Battalion (Lord Nairne's) Athole Highlanders and with them took part in the Rebellion. More fortunate than his brother Donald, he was not executed, but appears to have survived until after 1725, when a license was granted to him by General Wade to carry a sword, gun, and pistol, for self-defence. He married a daughter of John Stewart of Camach of whom the following story is narrated. In 1692 the Keep of Dalchosnie was burnt to the ground by the king's troops under Campbell of Glenlyon, and as the conflagration took place at night, all the inhabitants including Mrs. Macdonald were turned out *en dèshabille*. She bore with great equanimity this discomfort, the loss of a favourite brooch* (a family relic), and the ruin of her house and goods, until at length she perceived, among other pieces of furniture, the mahogany dining-table (then a very rare article in Rannoch), blazing in the universal bonfire. At this sight her philosophy deserted her, and turning indignantly on Campbell of Glenlyon she exclaimed, "Wretch! many a good dinner have you eaten off that table".

By his wife he had issue—

1. Alexander, his heir.
2. Allan, who accompanied his father and the Highland army of 1715; was taken prisoner, and died in prison at Manchester, in that year.
3. John, who married Cecilia, daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, with issue. He fell at Culloden.
4. Angus, who married Margaret Stewart, without issue.
5. Donald, a Lieutenant in the Old Buffs. He served in Germany under the Duke of Marlborough in the campaign of 1745, and fell there, unmarried.

* This brooch was seen in the possession of Garden Campbell of Troup early in the present century.

6. Barbara, who married Neil Stewart of Crossmount who fell at Culloden.

7. Catherine, who married Macdonald of Laggan.

8. Isobel, who married Alexander Stewart.

He was succeeded by his eldest son,

VI. ALEXANDER MACDONALD OF DALCHOSNIE, born in 1696. He was a captain in the Athole Highlanders with whom he was at Gladsmuir; on the march into England, at the siege and capture of Falkirk, and at the Battle of Culloden, where he fell. Previous to the last desperate charge made by the Athole Highlanders, he handed to a gillie his gun called the "Gunna Breac" (supposed in the Dalchosnie family to possess supernatural qualities), and the pistol with which his great-grandfather, Alastair of Tulloch, killed Captain Mackenzie of Suddie, at Mulroy, directing him to carry them to Dalchosnie, which he himself was to see no more, and then, rushing sword in hand to the charge, he fell with thirty other officers of the same brigade. He married Janet, daughter of James Stewart, progenitor of the Stewarts of Tulloch-croisk, Lassentullich, and Temper, with issue—

1. Allan, who was wounded in one of the actions during 1745, and died of his wounds at Dalchosnie, unmarried.

2. John, who succeeded.

3. Donald, a Writer to the Signet, who died unmarried.

4. Barbara, who during and after 1745, exhibited great bravery, self-devotion, and presence of mind. On her devolved the dangerous duty of conveying the necessary provisions to her brother John and other officers of the Highland army, who were for a long time compelled to lie in hiding in different places of concealment throughout the neighbourhood of Rannoch. She had habitually to walk unattended, and at night, distances of several miles over barren moors, starting after midnight and returning before dawn, as the only period when she could hope to escape the vigilant watch kept by the king's troops quartered at Dalchosnie and the other gentlemen's houses in the district. She lived to a very great age—long enough to

have the painful experiences of her early years revived by a perusal of the romance of *Waverley*, and the fate of the unfortunate Fergus MacIvor, with whose sentiments she evinced the strongest sympathy. She died in 1819, in the 93d year of her age.

Alexander was succeeded by his second and eldest surviving son,

VII. JOHN MACDONALD OF DALCHOSNIE, born in 1721. He was an officer in Keppoch's Highlanders and with them took part in the campaign of 1745-6. He escaped from the field of Culloden; was for a long time in hiding in Rannoch, and had many hairbreadth escapes of being taken by the king's troops. The uniform he wore as one of Keppoch's regiment was preserved at Dalchosnie till early this century, when it was sent to an old Lochaber lady, Mrs. Macdonald of Inch, that she might copy from it the "Sett" of the Keppoch tartan, which, owing to the stringent orders for the suppression of the Highland dress, had been completely lost in Lochaber. The tartan being composed of red and green in equal quantities, differed from that worn by the other great Macdonald families. Of this John Macdonald of Dalchosnie, called from his immense stature, "Ian Mor," General David Stewart of Garth (who knew him well in his latter years), relates the following anecdote. "As an instance of the influence his Majesty's (George III.) conduct had on the mind and feelings of those who were once disposed to dispute the right of his family to the throne, I may mention that of an old and honourable Jacobite who died in Athole a few years ago. It will be recollected that when the French took possession of the Papal territories, they drove the late Cardinal York from his residence at Frascati and that his Majesty settled an annuity of £4000 on the Cardinal, who, in return, for this generous liberality, left him the Ribbon and Star of the Order of the Garter, which had been worn by Charles I. (the only property now in his possession, and the only legacy he had to leave to the rightful heir of his family and possessor of that crown

which his father and brother had so long claimed). The old gentleman I have just noticed had been 'out' (as the term was) in the year 1745, and retained his ancient predilection to the last. Living to a great age his sight failed; and one morning as his son was reading the newspapers aloud, he came to the notice of what the king had done for the Cardinal. 'Hold there,' says the old man starting up, 'read that again.' When this was done, he exclaimed with great emotion, 'May God Almighty bless and prosper him in the chair he fills and deserves so well, and may God forgive me for not saying so before'. And as long as he lived he never failed praying daily for his majesty.* On that same day, after doing justice to the first loyal after-dinner toast to the last of the Stuarts, he turned to his son, an officer in the 73rd Regiment, and said, "Now, Alexander, we will drink your king's health". It is narrated that George III., on hearing that such an inveterate Jacobite still existed in his dominions, with great good nature said to his informant, "Give him the compliments of the king of England. No! give him the compliments of the Elector of Hanover, and tell him that I honour him".

John Macdonald married Mary, daughter of Robert Menzies of Glassie, Perthshire, and died in 1809, in his 89th year. By her he had a very numerous family, of whom the following survived to man's estate :—

1. Alexander, who, born in 1762, was appointed in 1780 to the Second Battalion of the 42nd Highlanders, then just raised, and in which corps, afterwards the 73rd Regiment, he became a Major. He served with them in India through the campaign of 1782-3-4, and particularly distinguished himself at the defence of Mangalore. Of this siege, where a garrison consisting of only 380 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys were besieged for nine months by the whole of Tipoo Sahib's army, amounting to 90,000 men, and commanded by himself in person, Colonel Fullarton says that "Colonel Campbell, 73rd, made a defence that has seldom been

* Sketches of the Highlanders.

equalled and never surpassed," and Colonel Lindsay says that "the defence of Colberg, in Pomerain, by Major Heiden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore in the East Indies by Colonel Campbell and the Second Battalion of the Royal Highlanders, now 73rd Regiment, are as noble examples as any in history." So impressed was Tippoo with the valour shown in the defence that during the siege he expressed a desire for a personal interview with the brave defenders, and Colonel Campbell and his officers accordingly visited him. He complimented them on their prowess, and, as a token of his esteem, presented to each a handsome shawl, while to Colonel Campbell he gave a valuable horse, which the famishing garrison afterwards killed and ate. They were finally reduced to the most dreadful straits, were forced to satisfy their hunger with horses, frogs, dogs, crows, catfish, black grain, etc.; the Sepoys especially were rendered quite useless by famine, and two-thirds of the garrison were in hospital; it was therefore resolved by the officers to capitulate, which they did, January 30, 1784, having endured nearly a nine months' siege. They were allowed by Tippoo to march out with all the honours of war, and he treated them with the most marked civility and respect. Major Macdonald took part in the siege of Seringapatam, and its capture in 1799, when he held the post at the south of the town. He died at a comparatively early age, predeceasing his father in 1808, having married in 1787, Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Alexander Menzies, baron of Bolfraiks, Perthshire, by whom he had issue:—(1) John, who succeeded his grandfather; (2) Alexander, a Lieutenant in the 92nd Highlanders, with which regiment he served during the campaigns in the Peninsula and Pyrenees, and was present at the defence of the Pass of Maya, July the 25th, 1813, when the right wing of the 92nd Highlanders, brought up to the support of the 34th and 50th Regiments, which had been forced to give way, had, while these regiments were reforming, to support an attack from a force of the enemy 2000 strong, when, says Napier, "So dreadful was the

slaughter, especially of the 92nd, that it is said the advancing enemy was actually stopped by the heaped-up mass of dead and dying. The stern valour of the 92nd would have graced Thermopylæ." Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald received a wound from a musket ball above the eye, which was at the time reported as "slight," and from which he apparently recovered. A piece of the skull had, however, been fractured, and falling on his brain, caused his instantaneous death on the 5th of October, 1813. He is the original of the "Alastair Macdonald" of Grant's Romance of War; he died unmarried. (3) William of Sunnyside, Perthshire, a Lieutenant in the 81st Regiment, died unmarried in 1839; (4) Donald of Sunnyside, a Captain in the 68th Regiment, who died unmarried in 1835; (5) James, a Captain in the 92nd Highlanders, who died unmarried in 1840; (6) Mary Anne, who died young in 1807.

2. John, the third son, who married a daughter of Gordon of Wardhouse, without issue.

3. William, the fourth son, a Major in the 37th Regiment. He served with them in the campaign in the Low Countries in 1793, and in one of the engagements there was desperately wounded. Having the top of his head taken off by a sabre, he was left for dead on the field for two days, the army being in retreat, and owed his life to the extreme cold, which had frozen the wound, and so stopped the hæmorrhage. He afterwards had a silver plate adapted to cover the deficiency, and accompanying his regiment to the West Indies, the extreme heat of the climate, acting on the wound, caused his death from brain fever. He purchased an estate in the Island of Jamaica, which he called Dalchosnie, and, dying unmarried, bequeathed it to his brother Allan.

4. Donald, the fifth son, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the army, was originally trained for the legal profession, but on the outbreak of war he obtained a commission, and served with the 92nd Highlanders at Egmont-op-Zee in 1799, where he received two bayonet wounds on the breast while defending himself against three French soldiers. He served

in the campaign in Egypt in 1801, where he was again severely wounded ; took part in the siege of Copenhagen in 1807, during which the 92nd Highlanders stormed and carried the village of Kioge, being in the proportion of one to four of the enemy. He served also in Sweden, Portugal, and Spain, under Sir John Moore in 1808. In the disastrous Walcheren expedition in 1809, and in the Peninsula from August, 1810, to October, 1811. At Arroyo de Molinos, where the 92nd behaved with their accustomed valour, Captain Macdonald was shot through both legs. Amputation was proposed as the only means of saving his life, but the Captain producing a brace of pistols, and threatening to blow out the brains of the first surgeon who approached him with such an intention, all idea of the operation was abandoned. He was soon after promoted to a Majority, and joined the 2nd Battalion of the 92nd Highlanders, then serving at home. His sufferings do not seem to have at all abated his military ardour, for in May, 1815, he embarked with his battalion of the 92nd, for the Netherlands. When Colonel Cameron was killed, and Colonel Mitchell wounded at Quatre Bras, on the 16th of June, the command of the regiment devolved on Major Macdonald, who with his sadly reduced battalion performed prodigies of valour at Waterloo, two days after. An eye-witness thus describes him, at that moment when Sir Denis Pack's memorable order, "Ninety-second, you must charge ; all the troops in your front have given way," was given. "At this interesting and truly critical period of the great drama, the subject of our memoir rose even above himself. His eyes sparkling with fire, he turned round to the battalion, and to his 230 companions in arms, and gave the order to charge, when all instantly rushed forward. He encouraged his battalion, with the most inspiring language, his countenance all the time denoting that, at that moment, he occupied a position which he would not have exchanged for the most splendid or exalted in the world. For a few seconds, the French seemed to dispute the progress of the assailants, but just as the

dreadful collision was about to take place, the front ranks of the enemy began to exhibit an uneasiness, which in a second or two more, showed itself in the flight of the whole 3000." For his services, Major Macdonald was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, was made a Companion of the Bath, received the Waterloo medal, the order of St. Wladimar from the Emperor of Russia, and a gold medal for Egypt, from the Sultan. He died in 1829, from the effect of his wounds, which for ten years previous to his death, caused him much suffering. He married with issue—(1) William, a Captain in the 93rd Highlanders, who died unmarried; (2) Allan, a lieutenant in the same regiment, and afterwards in the 6th; he also died unmarried; (3) Alexander, for many years Agent on the Marquis of Devonshire's Irish Estates; unmarried. Colonel Donald had also two daughters.

5. Allan, the sixth, succeeded his brother William in his estate in Jamaica, and died there, in 1825, bequeathing the estate to his nephew, Sir John Macdonald of Dalchosnie.

6. Robert, the eleventh son, in holy orders. He was a member of the Iona Club, and a good authority as a Genealogist and Antiquarian. He was married with issue—John, Alexander, and Mary, all of whom died unmarried. He died in 1842.

7. Julia, the eldest daughter, married Captain Alexander Macdonald of Moy, Lochaber, and had a son, Ranald, a Captain in the 92nd Highlanders, who also married with issue—two daughters.

8. Janet, the second daughter, married Alexander Cameron of Cullevine.

John was succeeded by his grandson,

VIII. SIR JOHN MACDONALD OF DALCHOSNIE, Kinloch Rannoch, and Dun Alastair, in 1809. He was born in 1788, and entered the army as Ensign in the Connaught Rangers (88th), at a very early age, in 1803, when he was so far from having reached his eventual height of 6 feet, that he was compelled to wear his sword strapped across his shoulder, to keep it from dragging on the ground. His

regiment formed a part of the disastrous expedition to Buenos Ayres, where at the siege and assault of Monte Video, in 1806, he was twice wounded. As Lieutenant and afterwards Captain in the 88th, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the 4th Portugese regiment, he served in the Peninsula, Pyrenees, and South of France from November, 1808, till April, 1814. He was at Busaco with the 88th when that regiment, under Colonel (afterwards Sir Alexander) Wallace, distinguished themselves by the gallant charge by which they dislodged the enemy's column from the height ; took part in the retreat to Lisbon, the defence of the lines of Torres Vedras, the affairs of Reduiha and Pombal. With General Hamilton's Portuguese division, the regiment he commanded was detached for the relief of Badajoz ; took part in the affair of Campo Mayor in the first siege of Badajoz ; the battle of Albuera, where the division held the village throughout the day against all attacks ; was present at the third siege and assault of Badajoz, the affairs of Alba de Tormes, November 10th, 1812, where General Hamilton's division prevented the passage of the river by the French troops, who brought 20 pieces of cannon to the attack, but were eventually forced to withdraw. With his regiment, in Sir Rowland Hill's division, he took part in the Battle of Vittoria, when the division attacked the enemy's left, on the mountains behind Subijana, and drove them from the heights, June 21st, 1813. In the battle of the Pyrenees, his regiment took an active part, and on July the 30th, he received two severe wounds. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he resumed the active command of his regiment, and with it, stormed and took the fortified Rock of Arolla, and surprised the enemy's post in the valley of Banca, October 2nd, 1813. This Rock was supposed to be impregnable, and therefore, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald had received orders to avoid it on his march. The night of 2nd October being especially foggy, he and the troops under his command, missed the right path, and emerged unexpectedly within gunshot distance of the Fort. Lieutenant-Colonel Mac-

donald perceiving that either to retreat or advance would equally expose himself and his men to an exterminating fire, resolved to attempt the surprise of the garrison, and with great promptitude, and an agility acquired in his Highland experience, he scaled the rock, and falling unawares on the sentry, killed him before he could utter a word of alarm to the garrison. His splendid troops followed his example; the place was taken by assault, and the whole garrison put to the sword. In recognition of this very valuable service, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald was permitted to wear on his crest a Flag gules with the word *Arolla* inscribed on it. In the assault he was desperately wounded, being shot through the right shoulder and lung; his life was despaired of, and he used to narrate how he became aware of the bad opinion of his case, by hearing his Portuguese bandsmen constantly practising the air of "Lochaber no more," which he had instructed them to play at his funeral should he fall. He however recovered sufficiently to take part in the battle of Toulouse, on April 10th, 1814. He became a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British service in 1817, and, his health being much affected by his wounds, he retired for two years on half-pay. He was again placed on full pay in the 91st Regiment, of which corps he became Lieutenant-Colonel in September, 1824, and remained in command till 1827, when he again retired on half pay.

In 1828 he was appointed to the command of the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, in which position he remained, serving with them in the Mediterranean, West Indies, and at home, until his promotion to the rank of Major-General in November, 1846. During these 18 years he spared no pains for the good of his regiment, and brought it from a state of great disorder to one of the highest discipline. Both as its Lieutenant-Colonel and later on as Major-General of the district in Ireland in which it was for some years quartered, he did his utmost to foster among the officers and soldiers of the 92nd Highlanders the *esprit de corps*, which has always been the special characteristic of the regiment.

One who served under him writes thus, "It was as much by the power of an appeal to the past, as by the force of his personal character (great as that was) that Colonel Macdonald, who so long commanded us, maintained the lustre of our bayonets untarnished to the last; on active service, the battle cry, 'Gordon Highlanders, remember the Pass of Maya,' or 'Remember Arroyo de Molinos,' would be worth 200 bayonets."

Major-General Macdonald was appointed early in 1848 Commander of the Forces and Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica, but on the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland in that year, he was selected by the Duke of Wellington as the most suitable officer to take command of the Flying Column destined to suppress the disturbance. The Military District of Kilkenny was eventually formed for him in October, 1848, out of the most disaffected portion of the country, and he remained in command there until his promotion to the rank of Lieut.-General in June, 1854, on which occasion a petition was presented to Lord Hardinge, the General Commanding-in-Chief, by the Mayor and a number of the most influential residents in the city and county of Kilkenny, which, after many expressions of esteem and regard for General Macdonald, concluded thus: "We would pray the General Commanding-in-Chief not to hasten the departure, but, as far as possible, to prolong the residence among us of this gallant officer in question who, while preserving a high military discipline, and a perfect state of all these duties belonging to his command, has continued equally to elevate himself in the opinion of all good men, and to be surrounded by the friendship of the aristocracy and the universal kind regards of the public." Lord Hardinge in reply, while expressing himself highly gratified by the request, regretted that the rules of the service would not allow of General Macdonald's retaining the command. He was appointed Colonel of the 92nd Highlanders in 1855; Knight Commander of the Bath in 1856; and promoted to the rank of General in 1862.

In 1863 he had the pleasure of welcoming to Scotland

from a prolonged foreign service the regiment to which he was so much attached, and was present on the 13th April, 1864, when Lady Macdonald presented to the Gordon Highlanders the Colours which have since seen such distinguished service at Candahar and elsewhere. Sir John Macdonald received for his services in the field the Portuguese and Spanish Crosses of distinction, the Portuguese medal for Vittoria and the Pyrenees, and the Portuguese medal for Albuera; also the gold medal and clasp for Vittoria and the Pyrenees, and the silver war medal with four clasps for Busaco, Albuera, Badajoz, and Toulouse. Sir John was also granted by royal warrant, in consideration of his own military services and those of his family, an honourable augmentation to his arms, including the right to bear the cross crosslet common to all the Clandonald, with flames issuing from it. He married on the 12th of September, 1826, Adriana, eldest surviving daughter of James M'Inroy of Lude, Perthshire, with issue—

1. Alastair MacIan, his heir, now of Dalchosnie.
2. John Allan, a Captain in the 92nd Highlanders, born 22nd March, 1834.
3. Charles William, who was appointed an ensign in the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders in 1852, at the age of 16. He served as a Lieutenant in that regiment in the campaign of 1854 in the Crimea, when the 93rd formed with the 42nd and 79th the Highland Brigade under Sir Colin Campbell. He took part in the battle of the Alma, on September 20th, 1854, when the Highland Brigade forced eight battalions of the enemy to abandon the heights. He was one in the "thin red line" at Balaklava, when the 93rd Highlanders, on October 25th, 1854, formed in the ordinary British line of two deep, received and repulsed the charge of a column of Russian Cavalry, 4000 strong. On seeing the Russians descending in such force as seemed certain to annihilate the small body of infantry opposed to them, Sir Colin Campbell, turning to the regiment, said, "You must die here, 93rd," but, to the amazement of the beholders, the 93rd Highlanders withstood the shock without wavering, receiv-

ing their assailants with two volleys from their rifles, which carried terror to the Russians, and compelled them to wheel about, and retire faster than they had advanced. The 93rd were exposed to great hardships on their first arrival in the Crimea, and on the 14th of November, 1854, a terrible hurricane swept away almost every kind of shelter; and the exposure to the weather, combined with bad and insufficient food, told on the health of the whole Brigade, and fell with especial hardship on so young an officer as Lieutenant Macdonald. Early in 1855 he was ordered home invalided, and thus missed the rest of the war. Soon after he attained the rank of Captain at the early age of 19. On the 16th of June, 1857, he embarked with the 93rd Highlanders for China, but on the news of the Indian Mutiny reaching this country, orders were sent to the Cape to meet the 93rd there, and cause them to proceed instead to India. They arrived in Calcutta in September, 1857, and were immediately despatched to Cawnpore, where they were brigaded with the 53rd Regiment and 4th Punjaub Rifles, under Colonel and Brigadier-General Adrian Hope, of the 93rd Highlanders, in Lord Clyde's advance to the relief of Lucknow, 13th November, 1857. There Captain Charles Macdonald had to take part in a most desperate struggle. The fighting commenced on the 14th, and from that day until the morning of the 23rd, when, the evacuation of the Residency being completed, the garrison and relieving force retired, the Brigade was never out of fire. On the 16th the work was especially severe. Writing to a friend an account of this day's work, Captain Macdonald said, "Scotland should be proud of us, for never a foot did we retire, and always advanced for ten hours of the severest fire I ever witnessed; we stormed four different places, and always where the artillery had no effect. The last place we stormed (a village between the Secunder Bagh and the Shah Mijief), it was getting near evening, and the artillery had been playing on the place for ten hours with no effect. Sir Colin came to us and said, 'We must take it,' and I think such a picture of determination I never saw.

Some of the men were literally covered with blood, but not a word was said, and we rushed on with a fearful yell at the place under a fearful fire ; when we got there, there was no breach, and we had to stand under fire until we drew up a sailor's gun, which we did, singing one of their songs, until within ten feet of the wall ; we breached it under a storm of bullets, round shot, shell, hand grenades, stones and arrows ; there were about 4000 rebels ; Sir Colin was always in front, but I am quite sure, had our regiment not been there the garrison would never have been relieved." After the day was over Sir Colin said he "never saw such men, they were the finest he had ever seen," adding that "should he lose them it would be all up with him". During the relief Captain Macdonald was wounded by a spent grape shot, but continued to do his duty.

On November 28th, the force under Lord Clyde, with the relieved Lucknow garrison, arrived at Cawnpore, not, however, to find the much needed rest, but a call to fresh exertions, the Gwalior rebels having attacked the city. On the 29th and 30th, the 93rd Highlanders were employed in defeating and dispersing the rebel contingent. On February 28th, 1858, Captain Macdonald was with his regiment at the Alum Bagh, in preparation for Lord Clyde's second siege of Lucknow, and final defeat of the rebels there. On the first of March, the 93rd moved to the Dilkoosha, where it encamped until the 11th. On that day Captain Macdonald received his death wound while gallantly leading on his men to the attack on the Begum's Palace. Although wounded on the 10th, and again severely on the 11th, he refused to retire, and insisted on leading his men to the attack. He was entering the breach at the head of his company, when he was shot in the throat and chest, and killed on the spot. Writing of the personal regret he felt at the death of this gallant young officer, and of the great loss he was to his regiment, Lord Clyde says, "He died as he had lived, in the performance of his duty, and while displaying the conspicuous courage belonging to his race". Captain Macdonald received the medal for the

Crimea, with clasps for Sebastapol, Alma, and Balaklava ; and the Indian medal with clasp, given after his decease. He died unmarried.

4. Donald, who was appointed Ensign in the 79th Cameron Highlanders, in June, 1854, and promoted to a Lieutenancy in the same regiment in December following. He served with them in the Crimean campaign, from July 1855, till the fall of Sebastopol, and he took part in the assault on the Redan, where the Highland Brigade, under Sir Colin Campbell, were for several hours exposed to a heavy fire. His regiment returned home after the Crimean war, and he was promoted to rank of Captain, in July, 1857, when barely 20 years old. On the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, his regiment was again ordered for foreign service, and on February the 28th, 1858, he joined Sir Colin Campbell's attacking force at Lucknow, and took part in the second siege and storming of the city. He then, with his regiment, joined the division under Major-General Walpole, and was engaged at Boodaon, Allahgunge, and Bareilly, where his division gained a glorious victory, and his regiment was especially thanked by Sir Colin Campbell. With the Cameron Highlanders, he accompanied the forced march to Shahjeanpoor, and in the attack on that place ; was present at the attack on Mohoomdee ; and the storm and capture of Rampoor Kosilab, where his regiment was especially complimented by Lord Strathnairn, the Commander-in-Chief. He was afterwards present at the passage of the Ghoyra, and the skirmish at Bundwa Kotee, on the 3rd of January, 1859. With the exception of three years, partly spent on leave, partly in command of the Depôt of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, Captain Donald Macdonald served in India until the 28th of August, 1871, on which day, while engaged at great gun drill, he suddenly dropped down, and died instantaneously from heart disease, brought to a climax by the violent concussion caused by the great guns. He had previously been heard to express a dread of the sound, but true to the instincts of his race, the idea of avoiding his military duties was one he could

not contemplate, and as truly as any of his family who fell in battle did he die a victim to his performance of it. He was a most thorough and enthusiastic Highlander, warmly attached to his regiment, and a consistent promoter and practiser of all national customs and habits. He received the Crimean and Indian medals and clasps. He died unmarried.

5. Elizabeth Moore Menzies.

6. Adriana.

7. Jemima.

} Now of Barnfield,
} Southampton.

Sir John died on the 24th of June, 1866, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

ALASTAIR MACIAN MACDONALD, now of Dalchosnie, Kinloch Rannoch, Dun Alastair, and Crossmount, a Major-General in the army. He received his commission as Ensign, in the 92nd Highlanders, in March, 1846, when barely 16 years of age, became a Lieutenant in the same regiment in November, 1847, and in March, 1848, was appointed Aide-de-camp to his father, General Sir John Macdonald, which position he held till 1854. He was appointed Aide-de-camp to General Sir John Pennefather in 1854, and served with him in the Crimean campaign; was present at the battle of Alma, where he was wounded, and at the battle of Inkermann, where he was so severely wounded as to compel him to be invalided home. He was appointed Major of the Rifle Depôt Battalion at Winchester, and afterwards became its Lieutenant-Colonel. He was Assistant Adjutant-General at Dover, and afterwards Aide-de-camp to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, until his promotion to the rank of Major-General, in 1877. He is now Major-General-Commanding the Forces in Scotland, and had the distinguished honour of commanding the Scottish Volunteers at the recent Royal Review in Edinburgh. He has the Crimean medal, with three clasps, for Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol; the 5th clasp of the Medjidie, and Turkish medal.

THE MACDONALDS OF GLENCOE.

THE progenitor of this family, known among the Highlanders as "Clann Ian Abraich," was John Og, also called John *Fraoch*, a natural son of Angus Og of the Isles, and brother of John, first Lord of the Isles, by a daughter of Dougal MacHenry, the leading man in the Glen at the time, [see p. 48]. John Og had settled in Glencoe as a vassal of his brother, the Lord of the Isles; and, notwithstanding the atrocities perpetrated upon the family, descendants of the ancient stock still possess a portion, if not the whole of the original property. Gregory states that one of them, probably from being fostered in Lochaber, acquired the name of "Abrach"; hence the Gaelic designation of the clan. At the date of the last forfeiture of the Lord of the Isles, the head of the Glencoe Macdonalds is described in the records as, "John of the Isles *alias* Abrochson". The early records of the family are so very obscure that it is impossible to procure any particulars of value regarding it, and its history, in consequence of the atrocious "Massacre of Glencoe" in 1692, has been detailed so minutely by the leading historians, and writers on the Highlands—and is therefore so well known—that it is thought quite unnecessary to repeat any portion of it in these pages.

It has been found impossible to give a complete genealogy of the successive heads of the house. The legitimate male-heirs are said to have entirely died out. The clan joined Prince Charles in 1745, when their chief was able to bring 130 men into the field. General Stewart of Garth in a footnote, relates how in one instance the force of principle,

founded on a sense of honour, and its consequent influence was exhibited in the case of this persecuted tribe in 1745, when the army of Prince Charles lay at Kirkliston, near the seat of the Earl of Stair, whose grandfather, when Secretary of State for Scotland, in 1692, had transmitted to Campbell of Glenlyon, the orders of King William for the massacre of all the Glencoe men. Macdonald, the immediate descendant of this unfortunate gentleman, who, with nearly all his family, fell a sacrifice to the horrid massacre, was at the time, with his followers, in West Lothian. Prince Charles, anxious to save the house of Lord Stair, and to remove from his followers all incitement to revenge, but at the same time not comprehending the true character of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, ordered that they should be marched to a distance from Stair's house and parks, lest the remembrance of the share which his grandfather had in the war for extirpating the clan should then excite among them a spirit of revenge. When the proposed order was communicated to the Macdonalds, they declared that in that case they must return home ; for, they said, "if they were considered so dishonourable as to take revenge on an innocent man for the conduct of his ancestor, they were not fit to remain with honourable men, nor to support an honourable cause"; and it was not without much explanation, and great persuasion that they were prevented from marching away next morning.* Such was the character of the massacred Macdonalds of Glencoe and their descendants.

* Sketch of the Highlanders, vol. i., pp. 99-100.

THE MACDONELLS OF LEEK.

THIS cadet family of Glengarry was well known in the Highlands for their great strength and warlike disposition. They were settled at Leek, about four miles above Fort-Augustus, for many generations, until after Culloden, when, like many other Highland families, they had to seek shelter elsewhere, their house at Leek having been burnt to the ground by Cumberland's troops. We have been unable to trace the exact period at which the first of the family branched off from the Macdonalds of Glengarry; but we are satisfied that the progenitor of the Leek Macdonells was John or Ian Mor, third son of Donald MacAngus, VIII. of Glengarry who died in 1645, uncle of Æneas, Lord Macdonell and Arros, IXth chief.

This John Mor of Ardnabi (incorrectly described of *Ard-na-heare*, at p. 332), is said to have had issue—John Macdonell first of Leek, and Alexander Macdonell of Aberchallader, the latter of whom left issue—by his wife, a daughter of Macdonald of Tir-na-dris—(1) John, whose daughter, Janet, married Alexander Macdonell of Greenfield, with issue; (2) Hugh Macdonell, the famous Consul-General at Algiers; married, with issue—Alexander, a General in the British Army, and Hugh, Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires, at the Court of the King of Italy, in Rome. He had also several daughters, who became connected by marriage with the Dukes of Montmorency and Counts of Aguado in France; while another Ida, married the Spanish Minister at Vienna; (3) Chichester; and (4) John, both Colonels in the army; (5) Janet, who married Alexander, second of Greenfield, with issue; and (6) Isabella, who married Colonel Ross, with issue. John Mor had also a son Allan, progenitor of the Macdonells of Cullochry, a distinguished man, and an accomplished scholar. His son, Alexander, settled in Toronto, Canada.

JOHN MACDONELL of Leek (probably a great-grandson of Ian Mor of Ardnabi) joined Prince Charles in 1745, and was on his staff at the battle of Culloden, where he was wounded by a shot in the thigh. He remained in hiding in the house of Grant of Glenmoriston, (his grandmother being of that family), for six months, until his wound healed up, after which he walked in disguise the whole way to Hull, where he embarked for Holland, in a sailing ship, and soon after rejoined the Prince at St. Germain. He subsequently served in the *Garde Ecossaise*. Some time after, under an assumed name, he returned to the Highlands and joined the Fraser Highlanders as Lieutenant. His commission is dated 5th of January, 1757.* He fought with his regiment on the Heights of Abraham, before Quebec, and was beside Wolfe when he fell. Before the 'Forty-five he became acquainted with the great General, then Major in the British Army, and he afterwards became so attached to him that he named his eldest son after him. Wolfe acted his friend and protected him throughout, the amnesty not having been granted for some years after the fall of Quebec. He remained on the staff after Wolfe's death, and was a great favourite with his brother officers. On a certain occasion one of the Hessian officers on the staff had a difference with him about a lady, when the Hessian denounced him as a rebel Highlander. The whole headquarters were indignant, and spurned the accusation. Macdonell challenged his accuser; a duel with swords ensued; and the German was killed, to the gratification of some thirty officers, who witnessed the combat and strongly sympathised with Mr. Macdonell. Among his friends in his latter days were the famous Glengarry of George IV.'s time, and his more distinguished brother, General Sir James Macdonell of the Guards, defender of Hougomont. He served as Major in the American War of Independence, and subsequently commanded a Veteran Corps in Newfoundland, where his second son was born in 1779 or 1780.

* General Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. II., pp. 65-66.

He married Miss Leslie of Fetternear and Balquhain, with issue—

1. Wolfe Alexander, his heir, afterwards Colonel of the 25th Regiment. He died unmarried.

2. George, a Lieutenant Colonel, and C.B.

3. James, a Captain, 13th Light Infantry, who died unmarried.

4. Charles, who died unmarried, serving in India.

5. Edward, who died unmarried, serving in India.

6. Ernest, who served in the 25th Regiment, and died unmarried.

7. Elizabeth Matilda, who married Arthur, 4th son of Hugh, 4th Lord Clifford, county Down.

8. A daughter, who married Robert Gillies.

9. Jacobina, who married Sir Joseph Radcliffe, Rudding Park, Yorkshire, with issue.

10. Another daughter, who married Mr. Nassau.

11. Alpina, the youngest, died unmarried.

The eldest son, Wolfe Alexander, having died unmarried, Colonel John Macdonell, who died at Berwick in 1813, was succeeded as representative of the family by his second son,

GEORGE MACDONELL, a Lieutenant-Colonel, and C.B. He was a Major in the 8th Regiment, in Canada, in 1813; and became Lieutenant-Colonel of the Glengarry (Canada) Fencibles, raised in 1811, and commanded by him, with good effect, against the Americans.*

He married in 1820 the Hon. Laura, daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour (and died at the age of 90 or 91, in 1870) leaving issue—

JOHN IGNATIUS MACDONELL, born in 1825; a Colonel in the army; late Lieutenant-Colonel, 71st Highland Light Infantry.

* Colonel Baynes writing to Major-General Brock, from Quebec, under date of 12th December, 1811, says, "I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of proposals for raising a corps of Glengarry Fencibles. The commander of the forces has selected an officer of the king's regiment, a Captain George M'Donell, an avowed Catholic, and a relation of the Glengarry priest of that name [afterwards the famous Bishop Macdonell], to attempt the formation of a battalion, to be in the first instance under his command, with the rank of major; and in case a more respectable body can be collected, a Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant will be appointed".—*Life of Sir Isaac Brock*, p. 111.

THE MACDONELLS OF GREENFIELD.

THE first of this cadet family of Glengarry was

I. JOHN MACDONELL, second son of Æneas or Angus, second son of Reginald, II. of Scotus [see p. 363]. He married Miss Macdonell, grand-daughter of John Macdonell, first of Leek, with issue—

1. Ranald, an officer in the army, who died, unmarried, in the Southern States of America.

2. Alexander, who became representative of the family.

He married secondly, and had a son, who married a sister of Captain George Macdonell, of the 68th Regiment, with issue.

He was succeeded by his second son,

II. ALEXANDER MACDONELL,* who, in 1792, emigrated to Canada, where his descendants have since remained, and in a few instances greatly distinguished themselves. He married Janet, daughter of Alexander Macdonell, first of Aberchallader, with issue—

1. Duncan, his heir. 2. Donald. 3. John.

4. Mary, who married John Cumming, with issue—among others, Helen, who married Lieutenant-General Joseph Clarke, Colonel of the 76th Regiment of Foot, with issue—(1) Colonel James Cumming Clarke, late 76th Regiment, who married Isabella, eldest daughter of the late James Fraser of Ballindown, Captain, 79th Cameron Highlanders, with issue ; (2) John Cumming Clarke, Major, late 13th Prince Albert Light Infantry, married with issue ;

* Regarding this gentleman, Mrs. Grant of Laggan writes :—"A few such lingering instances of the old superior Highland dress continued to be seen as late as the end of last century, one of its latest examples being afforded by Macdonell of Greenfield, 'Ceann Tighe' of a cadet house of the Glengarry family, who in the latter part of the last century was celebrated for his handsome person, his courtly address, his exploits as a deer stalker, and general character as a model of the Highland gentleman living in his time. He is described by several of the old people by whom he was remembered, as dressed invariably in Highland garb—a short round *cota goirid*, a bonnet plumed with a tuft of ostrich feathers—the belted plaid worn over the trews. The House of Greenfield stood in a beautiful romantic situation near the head of Lochgarry, on a green knoll, since occupied by the hunting lodge, built by the late Glengarry for deer stalking of Sliabh-garbh."

(3) Robert Stuart Clarke, Major in the same Regiment ; and others. He was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

III. DUNCAN MACDONELL, who married Janet, daughter of Colonel John Macdonell of Aberchallader, a granddaughter of John Macdonell of Leek, with issue—

1. Archibald, his heir.

2. Donald, Deputy-Adjutant-General of Militia, Canada, who married a daughter of Robertson Macdonald, Fort-William, with issue.

3. John, Attorney-General of Upper Canada, and Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, killed at the battle of Queenstown Heights, on the 13th of October, 1812, on which day, in the 25th year of his age, his Aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonell, was mortally wounded. He died next day. He had been, previous to this date, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Royal Canadian Volunteers, and in 1807, he raised a corps of Scotch settlers in Glengarry, Upper Canada, to which the Rev. Alex. (afterwards Bishop) Macdonell, was appointed Chaplain. He was buried at Fort-George in the same grave with Sir Isaac Brock ; and the remains of both were removed, in October, 1824, to Queenstown Heights, where they were placed under a monument, 135 feet high, raised by the people of Canada.

4. Alexander, who died unmarried.

5. Angus, who died unmarried.

6. Marcella, who died unmarried.

Duncan Macdonell was succeeded as representative of the family by his eldest son,

IV. ARCHIBALD MACDONELL, who was succeeded by his eldest son,

V. JOHN A. MACDONELL, Barrister, Toronto, Canada, the present representative of the family.

THE DARROCHS: OR MAC-GILLE-RIABHAICH MACDONALDS.

THE DARROCHS, OR MAC-GILLE-RIABHAICHs, of whom there are a good many in the Island of Jura and in Kintyre, always claimed to have been originally Macdonalds. The Reachs of Inverness and London, originally from Easter Ross, where the name is still to be met with, were, no doubt, from Mac-Gille-Riabhaich, and if the traditional account be correct originally Macdonalds.

The origin of the Darrochs is said to have been as follows :—A party of Macdonalds on one occasion invaded one of the remote Western Islands, and among them was a powerful youth, known by the sobriquet of “MacGille Riabhaich,” whose principal weapon on such occasions was a sturdy oak cudgel, in the use of which he had become most proficient. By the time the Macdonalds arrived at their destination on this occasion, their supplies had become exhausted, and they were sorely pressed with hunger and fatigue. As soon as they landed they observed a party of the natives gathered round a fire in the open air, over which hung, from three sticks joined in Highland fashion, a large pot. Mac-Gille-Riabhaich, expecting that the pot contained some thing substantial that would allay their hunger, moved, as by a sudden impulse, rushed on the natives, plying his oak cudgel with such effect as to send them scampering in all directions to escape from his sturdy and powerfully plied weapon. He then seized the pot by placing the stick through the suspender, swung it over his shoulder, and carried it away with its reeking contents to his hungry comrades regardless of the fact that it was burning him. For this daring exploit Mac-Gille-Riabhaich secured the by-name of Darroch or Darrach, the Gaelic equivalent for oak.

This tradition is corroborated by several incidents connected with the ancestors of the present Mr. Duncan Darroch of Torridon. One of these, also Duncan Darroch, who bought the estate of Gourock, on the Clyde, from the Stewarts of Castlemilk, in 1784, was the son of a large farmer, or tacksman, whose grandfather came from the North and settled in Jura. This Duncan Darroch went to Jamaica, where he made a fortune. Returning to Scotland, and having purchased Gourock, he went to the Herald's office to matriculate family arms and prove his right to assume those of Macdonald. Lord Kinnoull, the Lyon King at Arms, while admitting his right said, "We must not lose the memory of the old oak stick and its exploit"; and so the arms now borne by the family were granted to Mr. Darroch. From this it would seem that a record then existed of the story of Mac-Gille-Riabhaich and his oak stick.

The oak, or *Darrach*, is conspicuous on the family arms, and the parchment, in Lord Kinnoull's name, dated 1794, describes the grantee as "Duncan Darroch, Esquire of Gourock, chief of that ancient name the patronymic of which is Mac Iliriach." This gentleman's son,

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DUNCAN DARROCH, was appointed to the command of the Glengarry Fencibles, on the occasion of some disorders in the regiment, as it was expected that he, being a Macdonald, would be more likely to secure discipline than an officer having no connection with the clan. The result justified this expectation; for in the Royal Military Calendar (Lond 1816), vol. iii., p. 52, we find that "General Darroch, in 1799, was appointed to command the Glengarry Fencibles with the local rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and in that situation received the public thanks of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Marquis Cornwallis) for bringing the regiment into a proper state of discipline; for, upon his taking the command, there were great feuds between the Protestants and Roman Catholic officers and men." This Lieutenant-General

Darroch was grandfather of Mr. Duncan Darroch, now of Gourock and Torridon.*

He married in February, 1799, Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. George Sackville Cotter, M.A., Rector of Ighter Morrough, and granddaughter of Sir James L. Cotter, baronet of Rockforest, Ireland, by whom, (who died in 1834) he had issue—

1. Duncan, his heir, born 19th of February, 1800.
2. George Sackville, born 15th of June, 1801 ; died 14th of August, 1802.
3. Donald Malcolm, born 21st of August, 1805 ; died in May, 1806.
4. Donald George Angus, born in September, 1814. He became a Major in the army and married Eliza, daughter of Major Scott, with issue—a son Donald, and two daughters.
5. Elizabeth Arabella, who married William Wright Swain, a Major in the army, with issue—William ; Duncan, and three daughters.
6. Margaret Janetta Louisa, who married George Rainy late of Raasay.

General Darroch died on the 16th of February, 1847, when he was succeeded by his eldest son,

DUNCAN DARROCH of Gourock, a Major in the army. He was born on the 31st of July, 1829, and married Susan, daughter of Charles Stuart Parker of Fairlie, a West Indian merchant, and niece of George Rainy, late of Raasay, with issue—

1. Duncan, his heir.
2. Charles Stuart Parker, Rector of Medstead, Hampshire, who married Alice Maude, eldest daughter of Sir Edwin and the Hon. Lady Pearson, with issue—(1) Donald Stuart, who died young ; (2) Malcolm Stuart, born on

* The Darrochs have always considered themselves Macdonalds, and they wear the Macdonald tartan. According to tradition, Macdonald of Staffa, son of Macdonald of Boisdale, about a hundred years ago gave a great feast at which a woman of the name of Darroch attended. One of those present objected to her on the ground, as he alleged, that she was not of the clan ; whereupon Staffa corrected him, and called out to the woman, saying, " Come up here and sit by me ; you have a better right here than any one ; the oak is the true Macdonald."

the 4th of July, 1876 ; and (3) Angus Stuart, born on the 3rd of August, 1877.

3. George Edward, born on the 22nd of April, 1846, who married Adelaide Frances, daughter of Richard Valpy of Champneys, Tring, with issue—Richard George Sutton, and three daughters.

4. Eliza Cotter.

5. Margaret Parker, who married James Stewart of Garvocks, M.P., (and died 3rd of October, 1859), with issue—(1) Susan Caroline ; and (2) Margaret Parker Darroch.

6. Caroline Anne, who married R. B. Baxendale, and died in 1857.

7. Susan Louisa, who married John Morgan, Eccles, near Manchester.

8. Mary Babrington, who married Duncan MacNeill of the Bank of Scotland, London, with issue—two daughters.

He died on the 13th of October, 1864, and was succeeded by his eldest son,

DUNCAN DARROCH now of Gourock and Torridon, born on the 15th of March, 1836. In 1873 he purchased the estate of Torridon from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Barnet. In 1864, he married Annie, daughter of S. P. Rickman, with issue—

1. Duncan, his heir, born 9th of February, 1868.

2. Alastair Ronald, born April 22nd, 1880.

3. Annie Marion ; 4. Effie Caroline ; 5. Helen Margaret.

THE END.

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